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THE
PATRIOT'S
MONITOR,

FOR
VERMONT :

DESIGNED TO IMPRESS AND PERPETUATE THE
FIRST PRINCIPLES OF THE REVOLUTION
ON THE MINDS OF YOUTH ;

TOGETHER WITH SOME
PIECES IMPORTANT AND INTERESTING.

ADAPTED FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS.

BY IGNATIUS THOMSON.

Only take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen, and lest they depart from thy heart all the days of thy life. And ye shall teach them your children, speaking of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.

MOSES.

RANDOLPH, VER.
PRINTED BY SERENO WRIGHT.

1810.

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DISTRICT OF VERMONT, TO WIT:

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the fourth day of May, in the thirty-fourth year of the independence of the United States of America, IGNATIUS THOMSON, of said district, hath deposited in this office, the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as author, in the words following, to wit: "The Patriot's Monitor, for Vermont, designed to impress and perpetuate the first principles of the revolution on the minds of youth; together with some pieces important and interesting. Adapted for the use of schools. By Ignatius Thomson." In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned;" and also to an act, entitled "An act supplementary to an act, entitled 'An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and etching historical and other prints."

JESSE GOVE,

Clerk of the district of Vermont.

JESSE GOVE, Clerk.

A true copy of record.

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DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

IN CONGRESS, JULY FOURTH, ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIX. [JULY 4, 1776.]

1. **A** DECLARATION by the representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled.

2. When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

3. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ;

4. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

5. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes ; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed.

6. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is

their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

7. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies ; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great-Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

8. He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained ; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

9. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

10. He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

11. He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected ; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise ; the state remaining in the mean time exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

12. He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states ; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

13. He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers. He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

14. He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance. He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

15. He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power. He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws ; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation : for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us :

16. For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states : for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world : for imposing taxes on us without our consent : for depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury :

17. For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences : for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries ; so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies :

18. For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments : for suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatever.

19. He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us. He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

20. He is at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

21. He has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

22. He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us,

and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

23. In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms : our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

24. Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here.

25. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence.

26. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war ; in peace friends.

27. We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be,
FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES ;

28. That they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great-Britain, is, and ought to be totally dissolved ; and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do.

29. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor. Signed by order and in behalf of the con-

gress. John Hancock, president. Attested, Charles Thomson, secretary.

30. *New-Hampshire*, Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton. *Massachusetts-Bay*, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry. *Rhode-Island*, Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery. *Connecticut*, Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott.

31. *New-York*, William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris. *New-Jersey*, Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark. *Pennsylvania*, Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross. *Delaware*, Cesar Rodney, George Read.

32. *Maryland*, Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton. *Virginia*, George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson jun. Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton. *North-Carolina*, William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn. *South-Carolina*, Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward jun. Thomas Lynch jun. Arthur Middleton. *Georgia*, Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton.

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S APPOINTMENT AND ACCEPTANCE OF THE COMMAND OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.

MR. PRESIDENT,

1. **THOUGH** I am truly sensible of the high honor done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress from a consciousness, that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust :

2. However, as the congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

3. But lest some unlucky event should happen unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with.

4. As to pay, sir, I beg leave to assure the congress, that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those I doubt not they will discharge, and that is all I desire.

GEN. WASHINGTON'S ADDRESS TO THE ARMY.

1. THE United States in congress assembled, after giving the most honorable testimony to the merits of the federal armies, and presenting them with the thanks of their country, for their long, eminent and faithful service, having thought proper, by their proclamation, bearing date the 18th of October last, to discharge such part of the troops as were engaged for the war, and to permit the officers on furlough to retire from service, from and after to-morrow ;

2. Which proclamation having been communicated in the public papers, for the information and government of all concerned, it only remains for the commander in chief to address himself once more, and that for the last time, to the armies of the United States, (however widely dispersed individuals who compose them may be,) and to bid them an affectionate—a long farewell.

3. But before the commander in chief takes his final leave of those he holds most dear, he wishes to indulge himself a few moments in calling to mind a slight view of the past : he will then take the liberty of exploring, with his military friends, their future prospects ; of advising the general line of conduct, which, in his opinion, ought to be pursued ; and he will conclude the address, by expressing the obligations he feels himself under for the spirited and

able assistance he has experienced from them, in the performance of an arduous office.

4. A contemplation of the complete attainment, (at a period earlier than could have been expected,) of the object for which we contended, against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude. The disadvantageous circumstances on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten.

5. The signal interpositions of Providence, in our feeble condition, were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving ; while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle.

6. It is not the meaning, nor within the compass of this address, to detail the hardships peculiarly incident to our service, or to describe the distresses which, in several instances, have resulted from the extremes of hunger and nakedness, combined with the rigors of an inclement season : nor is it necessary to dwell on the dark side of our past affairs.

7. Every American officer and soldier must now console himself for any unpleasant circumstance which may have occurred, by a recollection of the uncommon scenes in which he has been called to act no inglorious part, and the astonishing events of which he has been a witness—events which have seldom, if ever before, taken place on the stage of human action ; nor can they probably ever happen again.

8. For who has before seen a disciplined army formed at once from such raw materials ? Who that was not a witness could imagine that the most violent local prejudices would cease so soon, and that men who came from the different parts of the continent, strongly disposed by the habits of education to despise and quarrel with each other, would instantly become but one patriotic band of brothers ?

9. Or who that was not on the spot, can trace the steps by which such a wonderful revolution has been effected, and such a glorious period put to all our warlike toils ?

10. It is universally acknowledged, that the enlarged prospects of happiness, opened by the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, almost exceed the power of description : and shall not the brave men who have contri-

buted so essentially to these inestimable acquisitions, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture, participate in all the blessings which have been obtained ?

11. In such a republic, who will exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labors ? In such a country, so happily circumstanced, the pursuits of commerce, and the cultivation of the soil, will unfold to industry the certain road to competence.

12. To those hardy soldiers who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment ; and the extensive and fertile regions of the west, will yield a most happy asylum to those who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking personal independence.

13. Nor is it possible to conceive that any one of the United States will prefer a national bankruptcy, and the dissolution of the union, to a compliance with the requisitions of congress, and the payment of its just debts ; so that the officers and soldiers, may expect considerable assistance, in recommencing their civil occupations, from the sums due to them from the public, which must and will most inevitably be paid.

14. In order to effect this desirable purpose, and remove the prejudices which may have taken possession of the minds of any of the good people of the states, it is earnestly recommended to all the troops, that, with strong attachment to the union, they should carry with them into civil society the most conciliating dispositions, and that they should prove themselves not less virtuous and useful as citizens, than they have been victorious as soldiers.

15. What though there should be some envious individuals, who are unwilling to pay the debt the public has contracted, or to yield the tribute due to merit ; yet, let such unworthy treatment produce no invective, or any instance of intemperate conduct. Let it be remembered, that the unbiassed voice of the free citizens of the United States, has promised the just reward, and given the merited applause.

16. Let it be known and remembered, that the reputation of the federal armies is established beyond the reach of malevolence ; and let a consciousness of their achievements and fame, still excite the men who composed them to honorable actions, under the persuasion that the private virtues

of economy, prudence, and industry, will not be less amiable in civil life, than the more splendid qualities of valor, perseverance, and enterprise, were in the field.

17. Every one may rest assured, that much, very much of the future happiness of the officers and men, will depend upon the wise and manly conduct which shall be adopted by them, when they are mingled with the great body of the community.

18. And, although the general has so frequently given it as his opinion, in the most public and explicit manner, that unless the principles of the federal government were properly supported, and the powers of the union increased, the honor, dignity, and justice of the nation would be lost for ever ;

19. Yet he cannot help repeating, on this occasion, so interesting a sentiment, and leaving it as his last injunction to every officer and every soldier, who may view the subject in the same serious point of light, to add his best endeavors to those of his worthy fellow citizens, towards effecting these great and valuable purposes, on which our very existence as a nation so materially depends.

20. The commander in chief conceives little is now wanting to enable the soldier to change the military character into that of the citizen, but that steady, decent tenor of behavior, which has generally distinguished not only the army under his immediate command, but the different detachments and armies, through the course of the war.

21. From their good sense and prudence he anticipates the happiest consequences ; and while he congratulates them on the glorious occasion which renders their services in the field no longer necessary, he wishes to express the strong obligations he feels himself under, for the assistance he has received from every class, and in every instance.

22. He presents his thanks in the most serious and affectionate manner, to the general officers, as well for their counsels on many interesting occasions, as for their ardor in promoting the success of the plans he had adopted—to the commandants of regiments, and corps, and to the other officers, for their zeal and attention in carrying his orders promptly into execution—to the staff, for their alacrity and exactness in performing the duties of their several depart-

ments ; and to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, for their extraordinary patience and suffering, as well as their invincible fortitude in action.

23. To the various branches of the army, the general takes this last and solemn opportunity of professing his inviolable attachment and friendship. He wishes more than bare professions were in his power, that he was really able to be useful to them all in future life. He flatters himself, however, they will do him the justice to believe, that whatever could with propriety be attempted by him, has been done.

24. And being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave in a short time of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honor to command, he can only again offer in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies.

25. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of heaven's favors, both here and hereafter, attend those who, under the divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others. With these wishes, and this benediction, the commander in chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene to him will be closed forever.

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S RESIGNATION OF THE COMMAND OF THE ARMY.

MR. PRESIDENT,

1. THE great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

2. Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign

with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence ; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the union, and the patronage of Heaven.

3. The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations ; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

4. While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings, not to acknowledge in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the persons who have been attached to my person during the war.

5. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, sir, to recommend in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of congress.

6. I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

7. Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action ; and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S CIRCULAR LETTER TO THE GOVERNORS OF THE SEVERAL STATES.

Head-Quarters, Newburgh, June 18, 1783.

1. SIR....The object for which I had the honor to hold an appointment in the service of my country, being accomplished, I am now preparing to resign it into the hands of

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congress, and return to that domestic retirement, which, it is well known, I left with the greatest reluctance ;

2. A retirement for which I have never ceased to sigh through a long and painful absence, in which, (remote from the noise and trouble of the world,) I meditate to pass the remainder of life, in a state of undisturbed repose :

3. But, before I carry this resolution into effect, I think it a duty incumbent on me to make this my last official communication, to congratulate you on the glorious events which Heaven has been pleased to produce in our favor ; to offer my sentiments respecting some important subjects, which appear to me to be intimately connected with the tranquillity of the United States ; to take my leave of your excellency as a public character ; and to give my final blessing to that country, in whose service I have spent the prime of my life ;

4. For whose sake I have consumed so many anxious days and watchful nights, and whose happiness, being extremely dear to me, will always constitute no inconsiderable part of my own.

5. Impressed with the liveliest sensibility on this pleasing occasion, I will claim the indulgence of dilating the more copiously on the subject of our mutual felicitation. When we consider the magnitude of the prize we contended for, the doubtful nature of the contest, and the favorable manner in which it has terminated ; we shall find the greatest possible reason for gratitude and rejoicing.

6. This is a theme that will afford infinite delight to every benevolent and liberal mind, whether the event in contemplation be considered as a source of present enjoyment, or the parent of future happiness ; and we shall have equal occasion to felicitate ourselves on the lot which Providence has assigned us, whether we view it in a natural, a political, or moral point of light.

7. The citizens of America, placed in the most enviable condition, as the sole lords and proprietors of a vast tract of continent, comprehending all the various soils and climates of the world, and abounding with all the necessities and conveniences of life, are now, by the late satisfactory pacification, acknowledged to be possessed of absolute freedom and independency : they are from this period to be consid-

ered as the actors on a most conspicuous theatre, which seems to be peculiarly designed by Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity.

8. Here they are not only surrounded with every thing that can contribute to the completion of private and domestic enjoyment ; but heaven has crowned all its other blessings, by giving a surer opportunity for political happiness, than any other nation has ever been favored with.

9. Nothing can illustrate these observations more forcibly than a recollection of the happy conjuncture of times and circumstances, under which our republic assumed its rank among the nations.

10. The foundation of our empire was not laid in a gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but at an epocha when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period.

11. Researches of the human mind after social happiness have been carried to a great extent ; the treasures of knowledge acquired by the labors of philosophers, sages, and legislators, through a long succession of years, are laid open for us, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of government.

12. The free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment ; and, above all, the pure and benign light of revelation, have had a meliorating influence on mankind, and increased the blessings of society. At this auspicious period, the United States came into existence as a nation ; and if their citizens should not be completely free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own.

13. Such is our situation, and such are our prospects. But notwithstanding the cup of blessing is thus reached out to us ; notwithstanding happiness is ours, if we have a disposition to seize the occasion, and make it our own ; yet it appears to me there is an option still left to the United States of America, whether they will be respectable and prosperous, or contemptible and miserable as a nation.

14. This is the time of their political probation : this is the moment when the eyes of the whole world are turned upon them : this is the time to establish or ruin their national character for ever : this is the favorable moment to give

such a tone to the federal government, as will enable it to answer the ends of its institution ;

15. Or, this may be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the union, annihilating the cement of the confederation, and exposing us to become the sport of European politics, which may play one state against another, to prevent their growing importance, and to serve their own interested purposes.

16. For, according to the system of policy the states shall adopt at this moment, they will stand or fall ; and, by their confirmation or lapse, it is yet to be decided, whether the revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse ;—a blessing or a curse, not to the present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn millions be involved.

17. With this conviction of the importance of the present crisis, silence in me would be a crime ; I will therefore speak to your excellency the language of freedom and sincerity, without disguise. I am aware, however, those who differ from me in political sentiments may, perhaps, remark, I am stepping out of the proper line of my duty ; and they may possibly ascribe to arrogance or ostentation, what I know is alone the result of the purest intention.

18. But the rectitude of my own heart, which disdains such unworthy motives ; the part I have hitherto acted in life ; the determination I have formed of not taking any share in public business hereafter ; the ardent desire I feel, and shall continue to manifest, of quietly enjoying in private life, after all the toils of war, the benefits of a wise and liberal government, will, I flatter myself, sooner or later, convince my countrymen, that I could have no sinister views in delivering with so little reserve the opinions contained in this address.

19. There are four things which I humbly conceive are essential to the well being, I may even venture to say to the existence, of the United States as an independent power. 1st. An indissoluble union of the states under one federal head. 2dly. A sacred regard to public justice. 3dly. The adoption of a proper peace establishment.

20. And, 4thly. The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and

policies ; to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity ; and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community.

21. These are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independency and national character must be supported. Liberty is the basis—and whoever would dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the structure, under whatever specious pretext he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration, and the severest punishment, which can be inflicted by his injured country.

22. On the three first articles I will make a few observations ; leaving the last to the good sense and serious consideration of those immediately concerned.

23. Under the first head, although it may not be necessary or proper for me in this place to enter into a particular disquisition of the principles of the union, and to take up the great question which has been frequently agitated, whether it be expedient and requisite for the states to delegate a larger proportion of power to congress, or not ; yet it will be a part of my duty, and that of every true patriot, to assert without reserve, and to insist upon the following positions :

24. That unless the states will suffer congress to exercise those prerogatives they are undoubtedly invested with by the constitution, every thing must very rapidly tend to anarchy and confusion : that it is indispensable to the happiness of the individual states. that there should be lodged, somewhere, a supreme power to regulate and govern the general concerns of the confederated republic, without which the union cannot be of long duration :

25. That there must be a faithful and pointed compliance on the part of every state with the late proposals and demands of congress, or the most fatal consequences will ensue : that whatever measures have a tendency to dissolve the union, or contribute to violate or lessen the sovereign authority, ought to be considered as hostile to the liberty and independency of America, and the authors of them treated accordingly.

26. And, lastly, that unless we can be enabled by the concurrence of the states to participate of the fruits of the

revolution, and enjoy the essential benefits of civil society, under a form of government so free and uncorrupted, so happily guarded against the danger of oppression, as has been devised and adopted by the articles of confederation, it will be a subject of regret, that so much blood and treasure have been lavished for no purpose ; that so many sufferings have been encountered without a compensation, and that so many sacrifices have been made in vain.

27. Many other considerations might here be adduced to prove, that without an entire conformity to the spirit of the union, we cannot exist as an independent power. It will be sufficient for my purpose to mention but one or two, which seem to me of the greatest importance.

28. It is only in our united character, as an empire, that our independence is acknowledged, that our power can be regarded, or our credit supported among foreign nations. The treaties of the European powers with the United States of America will have no validity on a dissolution of the union.

29. We shall be left nearly in a state of nature ; or we may find, by our own unhappy experience, that there is a natural and necessary progression from the extreme of anarchy to the extreme of tyranny ; and that arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of liberty abused to licentiousness.

30. As to the second article, which respects the performance of public justice, congress have, in their late address to the United States, almost exhausted the subject ; they have explained their ideas so fully, and have enforced the obligations the states are under to render complete justice to all the public creditors, with so much dignity and energy, that, in my opinion, no real friend to the honor and independence of America can hesitate a single moment respecting the propriety of complying with the just and honorable measures proposed.

31. If their arguments do not produce conviction, I know of nothing that will have greater influence, especially when we reflect that the system referred to, being the result of the collected wisdom of the continent, must be esteemed, if not perfect, certainly the least objectionable of any that could be devised ; and that, if it should not be carried into

immediate execution, a national bankruptcy, with all its deplorable consequences, will take place before any different plan can possibly be proposed or adopted ; so pressing are the present circumstances, and such is the alternative now offered to the states.

32. The ability of the country to discharge the debts which have been incurred in its defence, is not to be doubted ; and inclination, I flatter myself, will not be wanting. The path of our duty is plain before us ; honesty will be found, on every experiment, to be the best and only true policy.

33. Let us then, as a nation, be just ; let us fulfil the public contracts which congress had undoubtedly a right to make for the purpose of carrying on the war, with the same good faith we suppose ourselves bound to perform our private engagements.

34. In the mean time, let an attention to the cheerful performance of their proper business, as individuals, and as members of society, be earnestly inculcated on the citizens of America ; then will they strengthen the bands of government, and be happy under its protection. Every one will reap the fruit of his labors : every one will enjoy his own acquisitions, without molestation and without danger.

35. In this state of absolute freedom and perfect security, who will grudge to yield a very little of his property to support the common interests of society, and ensure the protection of government ? Who does not remember the frequent declarations at the commencement of the war, That we should be completely satisfied, if, at the expense of one half, we could defend the remainder of our possessions ?

36. Where is the man to be found, who wishes to remain in debt, for the defence of his own person and property, to the exertions, the bravery, and the blood of others, without making one generous effort to pay the debt of honor and of gratitude ? In what part of the continent shall we find any man, or body of men, who would not blush to stand up and propose measures purposely calculated to rob the soldier of his stipend, and the public creditor of his due ?

37. And were it possible that such a flagrant instance of injustice could ever happen, would it not excite the general

indignation, and tend to bring down upon the authors of such measures the aggravated vengeance of heaven ?

38. If, after all, a spirit of disunion, or a temper of obstinacy and perverseness should manifest itself in any of the states, if such an ungracious disposition should attempt to frustrate all the happy effects that might be expected to flow from the union; if there should be a refusal to comply with requisitions for funds to discharge the annual interest of the public debts; and if that refusal should revive all those jealousies, and produce all those evils, which are now happily removed, congress, who have in all their transactions, shown a great degree of magnanimity and justice, will stand justified in the sight of God and man ! and that state alone, which puts itself in opposition to the aggregate wisdom of the continent, and follows such mistaken and pernicious councils, will be responsible for all the consequences.

39. For my own part, conscious of having acted while a servant of the public, in the manner I conceived best suited to promote the real interests of my country ; having in consequence of my fixed belief, in some measure pledged myself to the army, that their country would finally do them complete and ample justice ; and not wishing to conceal any instance of my official conduct from the eyes of the world, I have thought proper to transmit to your excellency the enclosed collection of papers, relative to the half-pay and commutation granted by congress to the officers of the army.

40. From these communications my decided sentiment will be clearly comprehended, together with the conclusive reasons which induced me, at an early period, to recommend the adoption of this measure in the most earnest and serious manner.

41. As the proceedings of congress, the army, and myself, are open to all, and contain, in my opinion, sufficient information to remove the prejudices and errors which may have been entertained by any, I think it unnecessary to say any thing more than just to observe, that the resolutions of congress, now alluded to, are as undoubtedly and absolutely binding upon the United States, as the most solemn acts of confederation or legislation.

42. As to the idea which, I am informed, has in some

instances prevailed, that the half-pay and commutation are to be regarded merely in the odious light of a pension, it ought to be exploded for ever : that provision should be viewed, as it really was, a reasonable compensation offered by congress, at a time when they had nothing else to give to officers of the army, for services then to be performed.

43. It was the only means to prevent a total dereliction of the service. It was a part of their hire ; I may be allowed to say, it was the price of their blood, and of your independency. It is therefore more than a common debt ; it is a debt of honor ; it can never be considered as a pension or gratuity, nor cancelled until it is fairly discharged.

44. With regard to the distinction between officers and soldiers, it is sufficient that the uniform experience of every nation of the world combined with our own, proves the utility and propriety of the discrimination. Rewards in proportion to the aid the public draws from them, are unquestionably due to all its servants.

45. In some lines, the soldiers have perhaps, generally, had as ample compensation for their services, by the large bounties which have been paid them, as their officers will receive in the proposed commutation ;

46. In others, if, besides the donation of land, the payment of arrearages of clothing and wages, (in which articles all the component parts of the army must be put upon the same footing,) we take into the estimate the bounties many of the soldiers have received, and the gratuity of one year's full pay, which is promised to all, possibly their situation, (every circumstance being duly considered,) will not be deemed less eligible than that of the officers.

47. Should a farther reward, however, be judged equitable, I will venture to assert, no man will enjoy greater satisfaction than myself, in an exemption from taxes for a limited time, (which has been petitioned for in some instances,) or any other adequate immunity or compensation granted to the brave defenders of their country's cause.

48. But neither the adoption or rejection of this proposition will, in any manner, affect, much less militate against, the act of congress, by which they have offered five years full pay, in lieu of the half-pay for life, which had been before promised to the officers of the army.

49. Before I conclude the subject on public justice, I cannot omit to mention the obligations this country is under to that meritorious class of veterans, the non-commissioned officers and privates, who have been discharged for inability, in consequence of the resolution of congress, of the 23d of April, 1782, on an annual pension for life.

50. Their peculiar sufferings, their singular merits and claims to that provision, need only to be known, to interest the feelings of humanity in their behalf.

51. Nothing but a punctual payment of their annual allowance, can rescue them from the most complicated misery; and nothing could be a more melancholy and distressing sight, than to behold those who have shed their blood, or lost their limbs in the service of their country, without a shelter, without a friend, and without the means of obtaining any of the comforts or necessities of life, compelled to beg their bread daily from door to door. Suffer me to recommend those of this description, belonging to your state, to the warmest patronage of your excellency and your legislature.

52. It is necessary to say but a few words on the third topic which was proposed, and which regards particularly the defence of the republic—as there can be little doubt but congress will recommend a proper peace establishment for the United States, in which a due attention will be paid to the importance of placing the militia of the Union upon a regular and respectable footing. If this should be the case, I should beg leave to urge the great advantage of it in the strongest terms.

53. The militia of this country must be considered as the palladium of our security, and the first effectual resort in case of hostility. It is essential, therefore, that the same system should pervade the whole; that the formation and discipline of the militia of the continent should be absolutely uniform; and that the same species of arms, accoutrements, and military apparatus, should be introduced in every part of the United States.

54. No one, who has not learned it from experience, can conceive the difficulty, expense and confusion, which result from a contrary system, or the vague arrangements which have hitherto prevailed.

55. If, in treating of political points, a greater latitude than usual has been taken in the course of the address ; the importance of the crisis, and the magnitude of the objects in discussion, must be my apology.

56. It is, however, neither my wish nor expectation, that the preceding observations should claim any regard, except so far as they shall appear to be dictated by a good intention, consonant to the immutable rules of justice ; calculated to produce a liberal system of policy, and founded on whatever experience may have been acquired, by a long and close attention to public business.

57. Here I might speak with more confidence, from my actual observations ; and if it would not swell this letter, (already too prolix,) beyond the bounds I had prescribed myself, I could demonstrate to every mind, open to conviction, that in less time, and with much less expense than has been incurred, the war might have been brought to the same happy conclusion, if the resources of the continent could have been properly called forth ;

58. That the distresses and disappointments which have very often occurred, have, in too many instances, resulted more from a want of energy in the continental government, than a deficiency of means in the particular states ;

59. That the inefficacy of the measures, arising from the want of an adequate authority in the supreme power, from a partial compliance with the requisitions of congress, in some of the states, and from a failure of punctuality in others, while they tended to damp the zeal of those who were more willing to exert themselves, served also to accumulate the expenses of the war, and to frustrate the best concerted plans ;

60. And that the discouragement occasioned by the complicated difficulties and embarrassments, in which our affairs were by this means involved, would have long ago produced the dissolution of any army, less patient, less virtuous, and less persevering, than that which I have had the honor to command.

61. But while I mention those things which are notorious facts, as the defects of our federal constitution, particularly in the prosecution of a war, I beg it may be understood, that as I have ever taken a pleasure in gratefully ac-

knowledging the assistance and support I have derived from every class of citizens ; so shall I always be happy to do justice to the unparalleled exertions of the individual states, on many interesting occasions.

62. I have thus freely disclosed what I wished to make known, before I surrendered up my public trust to those who committed it to me. The task is now accomplished ; I now bid adieu to your excellency, as the chief magistrate of your state ; at the same time I bid a last farewell to the cares of office, and all the employments of public life.

63. It remains, then, to be my final and only request, that your excellency will communicate these sentiments to your legislature, at their next meeting ; and that they may be considered as the legacy of one who has ardently wished, on all occasions, to be useful to his country, and who, even in the shade of retirement, will not fail to implore the divine benediction upon it.

64. I now make it my earnest prayer, that God would have you, and the state over which you preside, in his holy protection ; that he would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government ; to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another ; for their fellow-citizens of the United States at large, and particularly for their brethren who have served in the field ;

65. And, finally, that he would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of the mind, which were the characteristics of the divine author of our blessed religion ; without an humble imitation of whose example, in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation.

66. I have the honor to be, with much esteem and respect, sir, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

GEO : WASHINGTON.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

1. WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE FIRST. [1.]

SECTION FIRST. [1.]

2. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a congress of the United States, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

SECTION SECOND. [2.]

3. The house of representatives shall consist of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

4. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

5. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states, which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to serve for a term of years, and excluding indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct.

6. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative; and till such enumeration shall be made, the state of New-Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New-Jersey four,

Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North-Carolina five, South-Carolina five, and Georgia three.

7. When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies. The house of representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers ; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION THIRD. [3.]

8. The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years ; and each senator shall have one vote.

9. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year ; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments till the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

10. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen. The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

11. The senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro tempore, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

12. The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside : and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

13. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend

further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States ; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION FOURTH. [4.]

14. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof : but the congress may, at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators. The congress shall assemble at least once in every year ; and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION FIFTH. [5.]

15. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members : and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business : but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.

16. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings ; punish its members for disorderly behavior ; and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings ; and, from time to time, publish the same, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy : and the yeas and nays, of the members of either house, on any question, shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

17. Neither house, during the session of congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION SIXTH. [6.]

18. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest, during their attendance at the ses-

sion of their respective houses, and in going to, and returning from the same : and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

19. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office, under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments of which shall have been increased, during such time : and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house, during his continuance in office.

SECTION SEVENTH. [7.]

20. All bills, for raising revenue, shall originate in the house of representatives ; but the senate shall propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

21. Every bill, which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the president of the United States. If he approve, he shall sign it : but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to re-consider it.

22. If, after such reconsideration, two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be re-considered : and if approved by two thirds of that house it shall become a law. But in all such cases, the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays : and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively.

23. If any bill shall not be returned by the president, within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return ; in which case it shall not be a law.

24. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the president of the United States ; and, before the same shall take effect, be approved by him ; or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of

both houses, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION EIGHTH. [8.]

25. The congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States : but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States. To borrow money on the credit of the United States. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the indian tribes.

26. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the United States. To coin money ; regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin ; and fix the standard of weights and measures. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States. To establish post-offices and post-roads.

27. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations.

28. To declare war ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; and make rules concerning captures on land and water. To raise and support armies. But no appropriation of money for that use shall be for a longer term than two years. To provide and maintain a navy. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces. To provide for calling forth the militia, to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

29. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States : reserving to the states respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by congress.

30. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as

may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of the government of the United States ; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings :

31. And to make all laws, which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION NINTH. [9.]

32. The migration or importation of such persons, as any of the states now existing, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress, prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight : but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

33. No bill of attainder, or ex post facto law, shall be passed. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one state over those of another : nor shall vessels, bound to or from one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

34. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law : and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money, shall be published from time to time. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States. And no person, holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of congress, accept of any present, emolument, office or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION TENTH. [10.]

35. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; coin

money ; emit bills of credit ; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts ; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

36. No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws ; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States ; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the congress.

37. No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE SECOND. [II.]

SECTION FIRST. [I.]

38. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows :

39. Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives, to which the state may be entitled in the congress. But no senator, or representative, or person holding any office of trust or profit, under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

40. The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each ; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate.

41. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if

such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed ; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the house of representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for president : and if no person have a majority, then, from the five highest on the list, the said house shall in like manner choose the president.

42. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote : a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states : and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the president, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors, shall be the vice-president. But if there should remain two or more, who have equal votes, the senate shall choose from them, by ballot, the vice-president.

43. The congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes ; which day shall be the same throughout the United States. No person, except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president. Neither shall any person be eligible to that office, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

44. In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president ; and the congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president : and such officer shall act accordingly, till the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

45. The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished, during the period for which he shall have been elected : and he shall not receive, within that period, any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

46. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation : " I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States ; and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States."

SECTION SECOND. [2.]

47. The president shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States. He may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officers in each of the executive departments, on any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices : and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons, for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

48. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur : and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law.

49. But the congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments. The president shall have power to fill all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION THIRD. [3.]

50. He shall, from time to time, give to the congress information of the state of the union ; and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and, in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper. He shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully

executed ; and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION FOURTH. [4.]

51. The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office, on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE THIRD. [III.]

SECTION FIRST. [1.]

52. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts, as the congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior ; and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION SECOND. [2.]

53. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority ; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls ; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction ; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party ; to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state, claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

54. In all cases, affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the congress shall make.

55. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury ; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed ; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places, as the congress may by law have directed.

SECTION THIRD. [3.]

56. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court. The congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason : but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE FOURTH. [IV.]

SECTION FIRST. [1.]

57. Full faith and credit shall be given, in each state, to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the congress may, by penal laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION SECOND. [2.]

58. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states. A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

59. No person, held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor ; but shall be delivered on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION THIRD. [3.]

60. New states may be admitted by the congress into this Union ; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state, nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of the congress.

61. The congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations, respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States : and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to preju-

dice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

SECTION FOURTH. [4.]

62. The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union, a republican form of government ; and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE FIFTH. [V.]

63. The congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the congress ;

64. Provided, that no amendment, which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article ; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

ARTICLE SIXTH. [VI.]

65. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution as under the confederation.

66. This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land : and the judges, in every state, shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

67. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this constitution ; but no religious test shall ever

be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE SEVENTH. [VII.]

68. The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.—Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

In witness whereof, &c.

GEO. WASHINGTON, president.

69. *New-Hampshire*, John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman. *Massachusetts*, Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King. *Connecticut*, William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman. *New-York*, Alexander Hamilton. *New-Jersey*, William Livingston, David Brearly, William Patterson, Jonathan Dayton. *Pennsylvania*, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.

70. *Delaware*, George Reed, Gunning Bedford jun. John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom. *Maryland*, James M'Henry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll. *Virginia*, John Blair, James Madison jun. *North-Carolina*, William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson, *South-Carolina*, John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinkney, Charles Pinkney, Pierce Butler. *Georgia*, William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest, • WILLIAM JACKSON, sec'y.

RESOLVE OF CONVENTION.

IN CONVENTION, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER SEVENTEENTH, ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVEN.

[Sept. 17, 1787.]

Present—the states of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Mr. Hamilton from New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia :

1. RESOLVED, that the preceding constitution be laid before the United States in congress assembled, and that

it is the opinion of this convention, that it should afterwards be submitted to a convention of delegates, chosen in each state by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legislature, for their assent and ratification; and that each convention assenting to, and ratifying the same, should give notice thereof to the United States, in congress assembled.

2. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this convention, that as soon as the conventions of nine states shall have ratified this constitution, the United States in congress assembled should fix a day on which electors should be appointed by the states which shall have ratified the same, and a day on which the electors should assemble to vote for the president, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this constitution.

3. That after such publication, the electors should be appointed, and the senators and representatives elected: that the electors should meet on the day fixed for the election of the president, and should transmit their votes certified, signed, sealed and directed, as the constitution requires, to the secretary of the United States in congress assembled.

4. That the senators and representatives should convene at the time and place assigned: that the senators should appoint a president of the senate, for the sole purpose of receiving, opening and counting the votes for president; and that after he shall be chosen, the congress, together with the president, should without delay proceed to execute this constitution.—By the unanimous order of the convention.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, president.

WILLIAM JACKSON, secretary.

LETTER OF CONVENTION.

IN CONVENTION, SEPTEMBER SEVENTEENTH, ONE THOUS-
AND SEVEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVEN.

[Sept. 17, 1787.]

1. SIR,...We have now the honor to submit to the consideration of the United States in congress assembled, that constitution which has appeared to us the most advisable. The friends of our country have long seen and desired, that

the power of making war, peace and treaties, that of levying money and regulating commerce, and the correspondent executive and judicial authorities, should be fully and effectually vested in the general government of the Union ; but the impropriety of delegating such extensive trusts to one body of men is evident—Hence results the necessity of a different organization.

2. It is obviously impracticable in the federal government of these states, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all—individuals entering into society, must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstance, as on the object to be obtained.

3. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision, the line between those rights which must be surrendered, and those which may be reserved ; and on the present occasion, this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several states as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interests.

4. In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view, that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence.

5. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each state in the convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude than might have been otherwise expected ; and thus the constitution which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable.

6. That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every state is not, perhaps, to be expected ; but each will doubtless consider, that had her interests been alone consulted, the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others ; that it is liable to as few exceptions as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe ; that it may promote the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, is our most ardent wish.

7. With great respect, we have the honor to be, sir, your excellency's most obedient, and humble servants.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, president.

By the unanimous order of the convention.

His excellency the president of congress.

RESOLVE OF CONGRESS.

UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER TWENTY-EIGHT, ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVEN. [Sept, 28, 1787.]

Present—New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, and from Maryland, Mr. Ross.

CONGRESS having received the report of the convention lately assembled in Philadelphia, RESOLVED, unanimously, That the said report, with the resolutions and letter accompanying the same, be transmitted to the several legislatures, in order to be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each state by the people thereof, in conformity to the resolves of the convention made and provided in that case.

CHARLES THOMSON, secretary.

AMENDMENTS OF THE CONSTITUTION.

1. CONGRESS of the United States, begun and held at the city of New-York, on Wednesday the fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine. The convention of a number of the states having, at the time of their adopting the constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstructions or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added—and as extending the ground of public confidence in the government will best insure the beneficent ends of its institution—

2. Resolved, by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled,

two thirds of both houses concurring, That the following articles be proposed to the legislatures of the several states, as amendments to the constitution of the United States, all, or any of which articles, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, to be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of the said constitution :

3. Articles, in addition to, and amendment of the constitution of the United States of America, proposed by congress, and ratified by the legislatures of the several states, pursuant to the fifth article of the original constitution.

4. After the first enumeration, required by the first article of the constitution, there shall be one representative for every thirty thousand, till the number shall amount to one hundred ; after which, the proportion shall be so regulated by congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred representatives, nor less than one representative for every forty thousand persons, till the number of representatives shall amount to two hundred ; after which, the proportion shall be so regulated by congress, that there shall not be less than two hundred representatives, nor more than one representative for every fifty thousand persons.

5. No law, varying the compensation for the services of the senators and representatives, shall take effect, till an election of representatives shall have intervened. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press ; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

6. A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner ; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

7. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated : and no warrants shall issue, but on probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation,—and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

8. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment by a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war, or public danger : nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb ; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself ; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law : nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

9. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury, of the state and district, wherein the crime shall have been committed ; which district shall have been previously ascertained by law ; and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation ; to be confronted with the witnesses against him ; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor ; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

10. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved : and no fact tried by jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of common law. Excessive bail shall not be required ; nor excessive fines imposed ; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

11. The enumeration, in the constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others, retained by the people. The powers, not delegated to the United States, by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

FREDERICK A. MUHLENBERG,
speaker of the house of representatives.

JOHN ADAMS, vice-president of the United
States, and president of the senate.

Attest.

JOHN BECKLEY, clerk of the house of representatives.
SAMUEL A. OTIS, secretary of the senate.

EIGHTH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,

At the first session, begun and held at the city of Washington, in the territory of Columbia, on Monday, the seventeenth of October, one thousand eight hundred and three. (1803.)

1. RESOLVED by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two thirds of both houses concurring, That in lieu of the third paragraph of the first section of the second article of the constitution of the United States, the following be proposed as an amendment to the constitution of the United States, which when ratified by three fourths of the legislatures of the several states, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said constitution, to wit :

2. The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for president and vice-president, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves ; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as president, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as vice-president ;

3. And they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as president, and of all persons voted for as vice-president, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate ;

4. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted ;

5. The person having the greatest number of votes for president, shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed ; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as president, the house of representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the president.

6. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote ; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice.

7. And if the house of representatives shall not choose a president, whenever the right of choice shall devolve on them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the vice-president shall act as president, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the president.

8. The person having the greatest number of votes as vice-president, shall be the vice-president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the senate shall choose the vice-president; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

9. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of president shall be eligible to that of vice-president of the United States.

Attest.

JOHN BECKLEY, clerk to the
house of representatives of the United States.

SAMUEL A. OTIS, secretary
to the senate of the United States,

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON'S INAUGURAL SPEECH.

1. FELLOW citizens of the senate and of the house of representatives—Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the fourteenth day of the present month.

2. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years :

3. A retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time.

4. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the

trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies.

5. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be effected.

6. All I dare hope is, that, if in accepting this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens; and have thence too little consulted my incapacity, as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me;

7. My error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

8. Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station; it will be peculiarly improper to omit, in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe; who presides in the councils of nations; and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes; and may enable every instrument employed in its administration, to execute with success, the functions allotted to his charge.

9. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States.

10. Every step by which they have advanced to the

character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency ;

11. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage.

12. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none, under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

13. By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the president to 'recommend to your consideration, such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.' The circumstances under which I now meet you will acquit me from entering into that subject, farther than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled, and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given.

14. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism, which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them.

15. In these honorable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges that, as on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views or party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests :

16. So, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality ; and the pre-eminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the

affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world.

17. I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire ; since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists, in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness ; between duty and advantage ; between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity :

18. Since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which heaven itself has ordained : and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as DEEPLY, perhaps as FINALLY, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people.

19. Besides the ordinary subjects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide, how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the constitution is rendered expedient, at the present juncture, by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them.

20. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good :

21. For I assure myself, that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of a united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience ; a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question how far the former can be more impreguably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

22. To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the house of representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as

brief as possible. When I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation.

23. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department ; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

24. Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave ;

25. But not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since he has been pleased to favor the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their union, and the advancement of their happiness ;

26. So his divine blessing may be equally *conspicuous* in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend.

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON'S ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

It is a legacy worthy such a father.—SHAKESPEARE.

1. FRIENDS and fellow citizens—The period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be em-

ployed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

2. I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country ; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest ; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness : but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

3. The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn.

4. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you ; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

5. I rejoice that the state of your concerns external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety : and am persuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my service, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

6. The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable.

7. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself ; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome.

8. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

9. In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred on me ;

10. Still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me ; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal.

11. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to our praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious ;

12. Vicissitudes of fortune, often discouraging in situations, in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected.

13. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—

14. That, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete,

by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

15. Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people.

16. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only feel in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

17. Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

18. The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so ; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad ; of your safety ; of your prosperity ; of that very liberty which you so highly prize.

19. But, as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth ;

20. As this is the point in your political fortress, against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively, (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union, to your collective and individual happiness ;

21. That you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it ; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity, watching for its preservation with jealous

anxiety ; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned ;

22. And indignantly frowning on the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

23. For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations.

24. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together ; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

25. But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

26. The *north*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *south*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *south* in the same intercourse, benefitting by the agency of the *north*, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand.

27. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *north*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated ; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted.

28. The *east*, in a like intercourse with the *west*, already finds, and in the progression of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent

for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home.

29. The *west* derives from the *east* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort ; and what is, perhaps, of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *oulets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*.

30. Any other tenure by which the *west* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

31. While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined, cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security, from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations ;

32. And what is of inestimable value ! they must derive from union, an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same government ; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter.

33. Hence they would avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty.

34. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

35. These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of a patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere ? Let experience solve it.

36. To listen to mere speculation in such a case, would be criminal. We are authorised to hope that a proper or-

ganization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment.

37. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experiment shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who, in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

38. In contemplating the clauses which may disturb our union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should be furnished for characterising parties, by *geographical* discriminations—*northern* and *southern*—*Atlantic* and *western*; whence designing men may excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local interests and views.

39. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection.

40. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them, of a policy in the general government, and in the Atlantic states unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi;

41. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity.

42. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the UNION by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such they are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

43. To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a

government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute ; they will inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced.

44. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved on your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns.

45. This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted on full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support.

46. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.

47. But, the constitution which at any time exists till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacred, obligatory on all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

48. All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency.

49. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community ;

50. And, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the illconcerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests.

51. However combinations or associations of the above description, may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government ; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

52. Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care, the spirit of innovation on its principles, however specious the prettexts.

53. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown.

54. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of government, as of other human institutions ;

55. That experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes on the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion ;

56. And remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interest, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian.

57. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

58. I have already intimated to you, the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take

a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

59. This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments ; more or less stifled, controled, or repressed ; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

60. The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissention, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism.

61. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual ;

62. And sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

63. Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which, nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

64. It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms ; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment, occasionally, riot and insurrection.

65. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

66. There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks on the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true, and in governments of a monarchi-

al cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor on the spirit of party.

67. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose.

68. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched ; it demands uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warning, it should consume.

69. It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country, should inspire caution, in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach on another.

70. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position.

71. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of the political power ; by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal, against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern ; some of them in our country and under our own eyes.

72. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates.

73. But let there be no change by usurpation ; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

74. Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable sup-

ports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who would labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens.

75. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice ?

76. And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded of the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure ; reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

77. It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force, to every species of free government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference on attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric ?

78. Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

79. As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it, is to use it as sparingly as possible ; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also, that timely disbursements to prepare for dangers, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it ;

80. Avoiding, likewise, the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing on posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate.

81. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue ; that to have revenue there must be taxes ; and none can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant ;

82. That the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigences may at any time dictate.

83. Observe good faith and justice towards all nations ; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct ; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it ? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and (at no distant period) a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.

84. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it ? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with virtue ? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas, is it rendered impossible by its vices ?

85. In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others should be excluded ; and that in the place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated.

86. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest.

87. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of

flight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and untractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

88. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion, what reason would reject ;

89. At other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

90. So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification.

91. It leads, also, to concessions to the favorite nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions ; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained ; and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld :

92. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity ; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

93. As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils ; such an attachment of

a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

94. Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake : since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government.

95. But that jealousy, to be useful must be impartial ; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other.

96. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious ; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

97. The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

98. Europe has a set of primary interests, which, to us, have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

99. Our detached and distant situation, invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance ;

100. When we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve on, to be scrupulously respected ; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions on us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation ; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

101. Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand on foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

102. 'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements.

103. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

104. Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensible posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

105. Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy, should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither sending nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the stream of commerce, but forcing nothing;

106. Establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them; conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate;

107. Constantly keeping in view, that 'tis folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character;

108. That by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or cal-

culate, on real favors from nation to nation. 'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

109. In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish ; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations :

110. But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good ; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit ; to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism ; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

111. How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

112. In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the twenty-second of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me ; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

113. After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend on me, to maintain it, with moderation.

114. The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

115. The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be in-

ferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

116. The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

117. Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error : I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils, to which they may tend.

118. I shall, also, carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence ; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

119. Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and progenitors for several generations ;

120. I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

United States, 17th September, 1796.

GEN. WASHINGTON'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE
COMMAND OF THE ARMY UNDER PRESIDENT ADAMS.

Mount Vernon, 13th July, 1798.

1. DEAR SIR---I HAD the honor on the evening of the eleventh instant, to receive from the hand of the secretary of war, your favor of the seventh, announcing that you had, with the advice and consent of the senate, appointed me "Lieutenant general and commander in chief of all the armies raised, or to be raised for the service of the United States."

2. I cannot express how greatly affected I am at this new proof of public confidence, and the highly flattering manner in which you have been pleased to make the communication ;

3. At the same time I must not conceal from you my earnest wish, that the choice had fallen on a man less declined in years, and better qualified to encounter the usual vicissitudes of war.

4. You know, sir, what calculation I have made relative to the probable course of events, on my retiring from office, and the determination I had consoled myself with, of closing the remnant of my days in my present peaceful abode ;

5. You will therefore be at no loss to conceive and appreciate the sensations I must have experienced, to bring my mind to any conclusion that would pledge me, at so late a period of life, to leave scenes I sincerely love, to enter on the boundless field of public action, incessant trouble, and high responsibility.

6. It was not possible for me to remain ignorant of, or indifferent to, recent transactions. The conduct of the directory of France towards our country—their insidious hostility to its government—their various practices to withdraw the affections of the people from it—the evident tendency of their acts and those of their agents, to countenance and invigorate opposition—their disregard of solemn treaties and the laws of nations—their war on our defenceless commerce—their treatment of our ministers of peace, and their demands, amounting to tribute, could not fail to excite in me,

corresponding sentiments with those my countrymen have so generally expressed in their affectionate addresses to you.

7. Believe me, sir, no one can more cordially approve of the wise and prudent measures of your administration. They ought to inspire universal confidence, and will, no doubt, combined with the state of things, call from congress such laws and means as will enable you to meet the full force and extent of the crisis.

8. Satisfied, therefore, that you have sincerely wished and endeavored to avert war, and exhausted, to the last drop, the cup of reconciliation, we can with pure hearts appeal to heaven for the justice of our cause ; and may confidently trust the final result to that kind Providence who has heretofore, and so often, signally favored the people of these United States.

9. Thinking in this manner, and feeling how incumbent it is upon every person, of every description, to contribute at all times to his country's welfare, and especially, in a moment like the present, when every thing we hold dear and sacred, is so seriously threatened ;

10. I have finally determined to accept the commission of commander in chief of the armies of the United States ; with the reserve only, that I shall not be called into the field till the army is in a situation to require my presence, or it becomes indispensable by the urgency of circumstances.

11. In making this reservation, I beg it to be understood, that I do not mean to withhold any assistance to arrange and organize the army, which you may think I can afford.

12. I take the liberty also to mention that I must decline having my acceptance considered as drawing after it any immediate charge upon the public, or that I can receive any emoluments annexed to the appointment, before entering into a situation to incur expense.

13. The secretary of war being anxious to return to the seat of government, I have detained him no longer than was necessary to a full communication on the several points he had in charge. With very great respect, I have the honor to be, &c.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

JOHN ADAMS, president of the United States.

EXTRACT FROM GENERAL HENRY LEE'S ORATION ON THE DEATH OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.

1. THE annunciation of these feelings, in his affecting letter to the president, accepting the command of the army, concludes his official conduct.

2. First in war—first in peace—and first in the hearts of his countrymen, he was second to none in the humble and endearing scenes of private life ; pious, just, humane, temperate and sincere ; uniform, dignified, and commanding, his example was as edifying to all around him, as were the effects of that example lasting.

3. To his equals he was condescending, to his inferiors kind, and to the dear object of his affections, exemplarily tender ; correct throughout, vice shuddered in his presence, and virtue always felt his fostering hand ; the purity of his private character gave effulgence to his public virtues.

4. His last scene comported with the whole tenor of his life—Although in extreme pain, not a sigh, not a groan escaped him ; and with undisturbed serenity he closed his well spent life. Such was the man America has lost—such was the man for whom our nation mourns.

5. Methinks I see his august image, and hear falling from his venerable lips these deep sinking words : “ Cease, sons of America, lamenting our separation : Go on, and confirm by your wisdom the fruits of your joint councils, joint efforts, and common dangers : reverence religion ; diffuse knowledge throughout your land ; patronize the arts and sciences ; let liberty and order be inseparable companions.

6. Control party spirit, the bane of free government ; observe good faith to, and cultivate peace with all nations ; shut up every avenue to foreign influence ; contract rather than extend national connection ; rely on yourselves only : be Americans in thought, word, and deed.

7. Thus will you give immortality to that union, which was the constant object of my terrestrial labors ; thus will you preserve undisturbed to the latest posterity, the felicity of a people to me most dear ; and thus will you supply (if my happiness is now aught to you) the only vacancy in the round of pure bliss high heaven bestows.”

EXTRACT FROM THE CONDOLENCE OF THE SEN-
ATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

1. WITH patriotic pride we review the life of our WASHINGTON, and compare him with those of other countries who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied ; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues.

2. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendor of victory. The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should fully his glory ; he has travelled to the end of his journey, and carried with him an increasing weight of glory : he has deposited it safely, where misfortune cannot tarnish it, where malice cannot blast it.

3. Favored of heaven, he departed without exhibiting the weakness of humanity ; magnanimous in death, the darkness of the grave could not obscure his brightness.

4. Such was the man whom we deplore. Thanks to God, his glory is consummated ; WASHINGTON yet lives on earth in his spotless example—his spirit is in heaven.

5. Let his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic general, the patriotic statesman, and the virtuous sage : let them teach their children never to forget that the fruits of his labors, and his example, are their inheritance.

EXTRACT FROM DR. WHARTON'S SERMON ON
THE DEATH OF GEN. WASHINGTON.

1. WHEREAS the transcendent accomplishments and unparalleled transactions of our great deliverer, stand recorded on the pages of multiplied history, and are become even already the objects of admiration and applause among all civilized nations. Well, therefore, may I be excused

from entering on a detail so familiar to every son and daughter of America ; so familiar to the universe ;

2. Well may I be excused from attempting to throw any additional lustre on the brilliancy of that character, which for so many years has swelled the sweetest notes of the trumpet of fame, and, borne on the wings of unadulterated glory, has exhibited to mankind the first great spectacle of the most exalted heroism accompanied with dove-like modesty ; of the most indefatigable patriotism untainted with selfishness—of the soft irradiations of genuine magnanimity and greatness, eclipsing the obtrusive glare of pride, and effectually oppressing the swell of arrogance and presumption.

3. At the grand and soothing idea, that this greatest instance of human perfectability, this conspicuous phenomenon of human elevation and grandeur, should have been permitted to rise first on the horizon of America, every citizen of these states must feel his bosom beat with rapturous and honest pride, tempered with reverential gratitude to the great author and source of all perfection.

4. He will be penetrated with astonishment, and kindled into thanksgiving, when he reflects that our globe had existed six thousand years before a Washington appeared on the theatre of the world ; and that he was then destined to appear in America—to be the ornament, the deliverer, the protector, the delight ! ! !

5. But alas ! he is now no longer among us ; he is gone, to his death bed, inclosed in the silent tomb ; and all that is now left us, is “ like all Israel, to make great lamentation for him, and to mourn many days, saying, how is the valiant man fallen that delivered Israel.”

6. My brethren, had the character of Washington rested solely on the basis of military achievements, and political sagacity ; had the vast fabric of his immortal reputation been supported merely by the hollow columns of universal applause, and perfumed with no other sweets than the incense of adulation, proffered by the wayward multitude to merit, often as false as it is glaring ;

7. Had the virtues of the man been stained by the vices of the hero, or the christian disappeared amidst the pretensions of the philosopher, with whatever delight you might

have listened to his panegyrics in other places, you would have heard no tribute paid to his memory in this. The temple of God is not designed to display the importance and fascination of human glory and pre-eminence, but rather to exhibit the transient glory and emptiness of both.

8. And yet, O holy and divine religion ! who preside within these walls, I trust it will be deemed no violation of thy sanctuary to have just hinted at the genuine glory and unparalleled pre-eminence of character which adorned the great deliverer and beloved father of our country.

9. His respect for thee, was uninterrupted and sincere. In private and in public, his conduct and conversation were marked with an awful reverence for thy truths and ordinances ; nothing profane ever dropt from his lips ; nothing irreligious ever appeared in his behavior ; to Providence he ascribed all his success and his glory ;

10. He deposited all his laurels at the foot of the altar, and the affectionate addresses of his fellow-citizens, joined with the applauses of distant nations, instead of swelling his great soul with the fumes of vain glory, seemed only to depress every sense of self-sufficiency, and rivet more firmly his confidence in the Almighty.

11. In his last pathetic address to his country, he bears open and ample testimony to the sanctions of revelation ; and assures us all, that without religion, neither the wisdom of laws, nor the precepts of morality will be able to preserve a state from destruction.

12. Let this sentiment, my hearers, rest permanently on our minds. It is the important legacy of our beloved Washington, calculated to promote our worldly and eternal happiness ; and I trust that he now enjoys the blessed effects of its adoption. And now let us, from the death of this good and wonderful man, endeavor to learn wisdom.

13. A View of his life must fill every citizen with astonishment, veneration and love—while his death conveys the most affecting lessons to a christian. Let us presume to follow his disembodied soul into the depths of eternity. There he now is alone with his God.

14. What a sudden revolution takes place in all his sentiments and ideas ! What avails him now, that he lived a solitary example of uninterrupted admiration and worldly

prosperity ; that he reigned in the affections of every virtuous heart ; that his memory is honored by the tears of his own and distant nations ;

15. The painter, the sculptor, the historian and the poet, shall vie with each other in conveying to future ages the benign traits of his countenance, the majestic symmetry of his person, the fair features of his expanded mind, and the fair fame of his achievements ;

16. What avails him now, that the most enlightened strangers from the European world, crossed the vast Atlantic, to behold the Joshua and the Solomon of America ; that mighty vessels, and towns, and cities, and provinces, bear his name ! a name that seems to combine whatever is good, and great, and amiable among men ! Alas ! neither this mighty name, nor all the events that now agitate the earth, are any thing to him.

17. The vast extent of eternity now displayed before his eyes ; his everlasting destiny in a new state of existence ; the realities of the eternal world opened on his view, fix all the attention and absorb all the faculties of his immortal spirit—

18. Thrice happy, I trust, to have learned from the blessed religion, which he professed and respected, that all the successes and disgraces of this transitory state, when not referred to God, are little else than empty dreams ; that there is no real happiness or misery but in eternity.

19. These are lessons which our divine religion had delivered to the venerable and beloved father of our country : it was his happiness to believe them : the veil is now rent asunder ; and I doubt not but this great benefactor of mankind, is actually perceiving, feeling, and approving them, in the bosom of the Eternal.

20. And we my hearers, shall very soon perceive these truths and approve them also. A few days perhaps, but certainly a few-years, will put a period to our mortal existence. But were our lives to be protracted even through a series of ages, yet still the longest life would be only a moment, when measured upon the scale of eternity ;

21. The duration of the loftiest cedar on Libanus, is not less contracted and precarious, than that of the humble shrub that grows in its shade. The whole of man seems to be, "*to be born and to die.*" The space that intervenes

between these terms of his mortality is so very short, that it appears to be just nothing.

22. Genius, opulence, fame, authority and reputation ; all the gifts and treasures of nature and of fortune, are evidently contained in a small vessel of clay ; which no sooner falls, than it is broken in pieces, and its scattered fragments lie useless on the ground.

23. My hearers, let us accustom ourselves to think, as we shall think in eternity ; to judge as we shall then judge. Happy, thrice happy, the venerable sage and patriot, whose death we now lament, that in life he regarded God as the sovereign master ; religion as the sovereign law ; the happiness of eternity as the supreme object, that should interest his affections.

24. To us, O Lord, it belongs not to penetrate into the depths of thy judgments ; and well we know that human virtues, the most resplendent and sublime, can entitle no man to the benefit of salvation. From thy pure mercy only can this grace be derived.

25. *This* we trust has been extended to our beloved father, and protector. Though a conquering warrior, he delighted in peace ; and therefore we consider he is now *called a child of God* :—With justice and humanity he judged his Israel ; and therefore we humbly hope that he also has been judged according to the abundance of thy mercy.

EXTRACT FROM MR. AMES' ORATION ON THE DEATH OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.

1. WHEN WASHINGTON heard the voice of his country in distress, his obedience was prompt ; and though his sacrifices were great, they cost him no effort. Neither the object nor the limits of my plan, permit me to dilate on the military events of the revolutionary war.

2. Our history is but a transcript of his claims on our gratitude. Our hearts bear testimony, that they are claims not to be satisfied. When overmatched by numbers ; a fugitive, with a little band of faithful soldiers ; the states as

much exhausted as dismayed ; he explored his own undaunted heart, and found there resources to retrieve our affairs.

3. We have seen him display as much valor as gives fame to heroes, and as consummate prudence as ensures success to valor ; fearless of dangers that were personal to him ; hesitating and cautious, when they affected his country ; preferring fame before safety or repose ; and duty, before fame.

4. Rome did not owe more to Fabius, than America to Washington. Our nation shares with him the singular glory of having conducted a civil war with mildness, and a revolution, with order.

5. The event of that war seemed to crown the felicity and glory both of America and its chief. Till that contest, a great part of the civilized world had been surprisingly ignorant of the force and character, and almost of the existence, of the British colonies.

6. They had not retained what they knew, nor felt curiosity to know the state of thirteen wretched settlements, which vast woods enclosed, and still vaster woods divided from each other. They did not view the colonists so much a people, as a race of fugitives, whom want, and solitude, and intermixture with the savages, had made barbarians.

7. Great-Britain, they saw, was elate with her victories : Europe stood in awe of her power : her arms made the thrones of the most powerful unsteady, and disturbed the tranquillity of their states, with an agitation more extensive than an earthquake. As the giant Enceladus is fabled to lie under Etna, and to shake the mountain when he turns his limbs, her hostility was felt to the extremities of the world.

8. It reached to both the Indies ; in the wilds of Africa, it obstructed the commerce in slaves ; the whales, finding, in time of war, a respite from their pursuers, could venture to sport between the tropics, and did not flee, as in peace, to hide beneath the ice-fields of the polar circle.

9. At this time, while Great-Britain wielded a force not inferior to that of the Roman empire under Trajan, suddenly, astonished Europe beheld a feeble people, till then unknown, stand forth, and defy this giant to the combat. It was so unequal, all expected it would be short.

10. The events of that war were so many miracles, that attracted, as much perhaps as any war ever did, the wonder of mankind. Our final success exalted their admiration to its highest point ; they allowed to Washington all that is due to transcendent virtue, and to the Americans more than is due to human nature.

11. The peace of America hung by a thread, and factions were already sharpening their weapons to cut it. The project of three separate empires in America was beginning to be broached, and the progress of licentiousness would have soon rendered her citizens unfit for liberty in either of them.

12. An age of blood and misery would have punished our disunion ; but these were not the considerations to deter ambition from its purpose, while there were so many circumstances in our political situation to favor it.

13. At this awful crisis, which all the wise so much dreaded at the time, yet which appears, on a retrospect, so much more dreadful than their fears ; some man was wanting, who possessed a commanding power over the popular passions, but over whom those passions had no power. That man was Washington.

14. His name, at the head of such a list of worthies as would reflect honor on any country, had its proper weight with all the enlightened, and with almost all the well disposed among the less informed citizens, and, blessed be God ! the constitution was adopted.

15. Although it was impossible that such merit as Washington's should not produce envy, it was scarcely possible that, with such a transcendent reputation, he should have rivals. Accordingly, he was unanimously chosen president of the United States.

16. As a general and a patriot, the measure of his glory was already full : there was no fame left for him to excel but his own ; and even that task, the mightiest of all his labors, his civil magistracy has accomplished.

17. No sooner did the new government begin its auspicious course, than order seemed to arise out of confusion. The governments of Europe had seen the old confederation sinking, squalid and pale, into the tomb, when they beheld the new American republic rise suddenly from the

ground ; and, throwing off its grave clothes, exhibiting the stature and proportions of a young giant, refreshed with sleep.

18. Commerce and industry awoke, and were cheerful at their labors ; for credit and confidence awoke with them. Every where was the appearance of prosperity ; and the only fear was, that its progress was too rapid, to consist with the purity and simplicity of ancient manners.

19. The cares and labors of the president were incessant : his exhortations, example and authority, were employed to excite zeal and activity for the public service : able officers were selected, only for their merits ; and some of them remarkably distinguished themselves by their successful management of the public business.

20. Government was administered with such integrity, without mystery, and in so prosperous a course, that it seemed to be wholly employed in acts of beneficence.

21. However his military fame may excite the wonder of mankind, it is chiefly by his civil magistracy, that his example will instruct them. Great generals have arisen in all ages of the world, and perhaps most in those of despotism and darkness. In times of violence and convulsion, they rise, by the force of the whirlwind, high enough to ride in it, and direct the storm.

22. Like meteors, they glare on the black clouds with a splendor, that, while it dazzles and terrifies, makes nothing visible but the darkness. The fame of heroes is indeed growing vulgar : they multiply in every long war : they stand in history, and thicken in their ranks, almost as undistinguished as their own soldiers.

23. But such a chief magistrate as Washington, appears like the pole star in a clear sky, to direct the skilful statesman. His presidency will form an epoch, and be distinguished as the age of Washington. Already it assumes its high place in the political region.

24. Like the milky way, it whitens along its allotted portion of the hemisphere. The latest generations of men will survey, through the telescope of history, the space where so many virtues blend their rays, and delight to separate them into groups and distinct virtues.

25. As the best illustration of them—the living monu-

ment, to which the first of patriots would have chosen to consign his fame—it is my earnest prayer to heaven, that our country may subsist, even to that late day, in the plenitude of its liberty and happiness, and mingle its mild glory with WASHINGTON'S.

PRESIDENT ADAMS' MESSAGE TO CONGRESS ON
SOLICITING MRS. WASHINGTON'S ASSENT TO THE MODE
OF INTERRING THE REMAINS OF GEN. WASHINGTON.

1. GENTLEMEN of the senate, and gentlemen of the house of representatives,—in compliance with the request in one of the resolutions of congress of the twenty-first of December last, I transmitted a copy of those resolutions by my secretary, Mr. Shaw, to Mrs. Washington, assuring her of the profound respect congress will ever bear to her person and character; of their condolence in the late afflicting dispensation of Providence, and intreating her assent to the interment of the remains of general GEORGE WASHINGTON, in the manner expressed in the first resolution.

2. As the sentiments of that virtuous lady, not less beloved by this nation, than she is at present greatly afflicted, can never be so well expressed as in her own words; I transmit to congress her original letter.

3. It would be an attempt of too much delicacy, to make any comments on it, but there can be no doubt, that the nation at large, as well as all the branches of the government, will be highly gratified by any arrangement which may diminish the sacrifice she makes of her individual feelings.

JOHN ADAMS.

United States, Jan. 8, 1800.

MRS. WASHINGTON'S LETTER.

MOUNT VERNON, *December 31, 1799.*

1. SIR—While I feel with keenest anguish, the late dispensations of Divine Providence, I cannot be insensible to the mournful tributes of respect and veneration, which are paid to the memory of my dear deceased husband ; and, as his best services and most anxious wishes, were always devoted to the welfare and happiness of his country, to know that they were truly appreciated, and gratefully remembered, affords no inconsiderable consolation.

2. Taught by the great example, which I have so long had before me, never to oppose my private wishes to the public will, I must consent to the request made by congress, which you have had the goodness to transmit me ; and in doing this I need not, I cannot say, what a sacrifice of individual feeling I make to a sense of public duty.

3. With grateful acknowledgments and unfeigned thanks for the personal respect and evidences of condolence expressed by congress and yourself ; I remain very respectfully, sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

MARTHA WASHINGTON.

The president of the United States.

REFLECTIONS ON THE LIBERTIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

1. UNACQUAINTED with the state of society here, Europe saw with wonder, the spirit of freedom unconquerable in America : rising, the more it suffered, the more superior to all the attempts of the wisest and most powerful nation of Europe.

2. The ministers of Britain at that time, were men of great eminence and abilities, in managing business, on the European system : but they had no ideas of the state of things in America, or of a system in which nature and society had combined to produce and to preserve freedom.

3. What they called rebellion, was only the tendency of nature and society towards freedom, made more active, by their opposition. Mistaking the cause, they perpetually mistook in their measures : and what could not have happened from any other cause but total mistake, it was their singular ill fortune never to judge right, either through design, or by mistake. The result was the natural effect of things.

4. It did not partake of the nature of miracles, of the extravagant spirit of chivalry, or of the madness of religious or political enthusiasm. It was nothing more than the natural effect, of natural causes.

5. Freedom, for a century and a half, had been the constant product and effect, of the state of society in the British colonies : and when the decisive trial was to be made, this state of society produced its natural effect ;—a firm, steady, unabating, and unceasing contest, which could not admit of any other period, but the total destruction, or complete establishment of freedom.

6. No other cause but that which first produced the freedom of America, will prove sufficient to support and preserve it. It is in the state of society that civil freedom has its origin, and support. The effect can never be more pure or perfect, than the causes from whence it arises ; and all those causes terminate in the state and condition of the people.

7. The form of government by which the public business is to be done, a bill of rights to ascertain the just claims of the people, a constitution to direct and restrain the legislature, a code of laws to guide and direct the executive authority, are matters of high importance to any people ; and are justly esteemed among the wisest productions, of ancient or modern times.

8. But no people ought to expect that any thing of this nature will avail to secure, or to perpetuate their liberties. Such things are consequences, not the causes ; the evidences, not the origin of the liberties of the people.

9. They derive their whole authority and force, from the public sentiment ; and are of no further avail to secure the liberties of the people, than as they tend to express, to form, and to preserve the public opinion. If this alters and

changes, any bill of rights, any constitution or form of government, and law, may easily be set aside, be changed, or be made of none effect.

10. For it will never be dangerous for the government of any people, to make any alterations or changes, which the public opinion will either allow, justify, or support. Nor ought any people to expect, that their legislators or governors will be able to preserve their liberties, for a long period of time. Any body of men who enjoy the powers and profits of public employments, will unavoidably wish to have those profits and powers increased.

11. The difficulties they will meet with in the execution of their office, the unreasonable opposition that will be made by many to their wisest and best measures, and the constant attempts to displace them, by those whose only aim and wish is to succeed them ; such things, joined with a natural love of power and profit, will not fail to convince all men in public employments, that it would be best for the public to put more confidence and power in them.

12. While they thus wish and aim to increase and add strength to their own powers and emoluments, those powers and emoluments will be called the powers and the dignity of government. It may be doubted whether men are much to blame, for wishing and aiming at that, which their situation and employment naturally lead to. The effect seems to be universal.

13. It has ever been the case that government has had an universal tendency, to increase its own powers, revenues and influence. No people ought to expect that things will have a different tendency among them : that men will cease to be men, or become a more pure and perfect order of beings, because they have the powers of government committed to them.

14. On what then can the people depend, for the support and preservation of their rights and freedom ? On no beings or precautions under heaven, but themselves. The spirit of liberty is a living principle. It lives in the minds, principles, and sentiments of the people.

15. It lives in their industry, virtue, and public sentiment : or rather it is produced, preserved, and kept alive, by the state of society. If the body of the people shall lose

their property, their knowledge, and their virtue, their greatest and most valuable blessings are lost at the same time.

16. With the loss of these, public sentiment will be corrupted : with the corruption of the public sentiment, bills of rights, constitutions written upon paper and all the volumes of written law, will lose their force, and utility.

17. Their government will immediately begin to change : and when the people have themselves lost the cause, the principle, and the spirit of freedom, they will no longer be capable of a free government : they are better suited for the restraints of aristocracy, or what is far better, for the regulations of monarchy. The constitutions and the laws of such a people, will no more preserve their freedom, than the tombs and the coffins of Montesquieu and Franklin, will retain their abilities and virtues.

18. Ye people of the United States of America, behold here the precarious foundation on which ye hold your liberties. They rest not on things written on paper, nor on the virtues, the vices, or the designs of other men, but they depend on yourselves ; on your maintaining your property, your knowledge, and your virtue. Nature and society have joined to produce, and to establish freedom in America.

19. You are now in the full possession of all your natural and civil rights ; under no restraints in acquiring knowledge, property, or the highest honors of your country ; in the most rapid state of improvement, and population ; with perfect freedom to make further improvements in your own condition.

20. In this state of society, every thing is adapted to promote the prosperity, the importance, and the improvement of the body of the people. But nothing is so established among men, but that it may change and vary. If you should lose that spirit of industry, of economy, of knowledge, and of virtue, which led you to independence and to empire, then, but not till then, will you lose your freedom : preserve your virtues, and your freedom will be perpetual !

EXTRACT FROM GOVERNOR TOMKINS' SPEECH
ON THE NATURE OF PUNISHMENT FOR CRIMES.

1. It has not probably escaped your observation, that on the eighth day of March last, a law was passed inflicting death for a crime which antecedently subjected the offender to imprisonment in the state prison for life, and authorising whipping for petit larceny.

2. It has been justly observed that punishments mild, speedy and certain, are the means best calculated to answer the end of criminal jurisprudence, that they ought always to be proportioned to the crime—and that the reformation as well as the punishment of the offender, ought to be constantly and steadily kept in view.

3. The spirit of freedom, the dictates of humanity, and the principles of christianity, require that the awful penalty of death should be inflicted as seldom as possible. The scene of distress and agony exhibited at an execution, naturally excites an aversion to the laws which sanction such severity.

4. Punishments will also be more certain, when moderate and rational. Because, those who are best able to prove the guilt, or who may be most materially affected by the crime, will then feel no reluctance, nay will cheerfully perform the duty of detecting and exposing every offender.

5. The jury will be less anxious to seize on specious doubts to justify an acquittal, and but a feeble hope of escaping the sentence of the law, by technical objections to matters of form, or by executive clemency, will be entertained. Besides, by substituting imprisonment at hard labor, society is relieved from the painful responsibility of sending one of its members suddenly and perhaps unprepared to the tribunal of his God.

6. The fruits of his labor enure to the benefit of community or his family ; the regimen of the prison precludes gambling, idleness and debauchery, the usual preludes to

greater enormities ; and that discipline united with the religious exercises of the institution, afford to the most charitable and philanthropic mind, at least a glimmering hope of ultimate repentance and reformation.

7. Impressed with a decided opinion that the deprivation of life is seldom necessary, and that it is incompatible with the genius of a free government, and the state of civilization and refinement of which we boast, I am constrained by a sense of duty to suggest the absolute necessity of forbearance to extend that punishment to other crimes than those of treason and murder.

8. With respect to whipping, for petit larceny, I would remark, that there are various reasons which might be assigned in favor of confinement at hard labor in preference to corporal pains. By the former, the offender is deprived, for a period, at least, of an opportunity of repeating his crime, whilst in the latter case, he is forthwith discharged to renew his depredations.

9. A term of temperance, labor, and privation, affords a hope of amendment : while on the other hand, reason and experience abundantly testify that no such reformation can be wrought by the agonies of a lacerated body ; for the publicity and ignominy of the punishment stifle every remnant of pride and ambition, and destroy the prospect of ever regaining a character.

10. I might also add, that the frequent exhibition of cruel and sanguinary punishments wounds the sensibility of the humane, and corrupts the disposition, and depraves the morals of a great proportion of the spectators. With deference, therefore, I submit to your wisdom the propriety of totally exploding corporal chastisement from our criminal system.

11. There is much reason to believe that the prevalence of crimes of a deeper dye, are too often the result of impunity for offences of an inferior grade. Although the legislature have, by a variety of statutes, enacted numerous regulations to prevent practices of an immoral and dangerous tendency, and which are generally the commencement of a career of more iniquitous and criminal

conduct—and although the provisions of those statutes are daily and notoriously violated, yet the instances in which they are enforced, are astonishingly rare.

12. The security with which one law is publicly infringed, not only creates an expectation of similar impunity for the violation of others, but also produces a contempt of the laws generally. Your wisdom will determine whether some more suitable measures ought not to be devised to ensure their observance.

PRESIDENT JEFFERSON'S INAUGURAL SPEECH.

1. FRIENDS and fellow citizens,—Called on to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow citizens which is here assembled to express my grateful thanks for the favor with which they have been pleased to look towards me, to declare a sincere consciousness that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments which the greatness of the charge, and the weakness of my powers so justly inspire.

2. A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye ;

3. When I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honor and happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking.

4. Utterly indeed should I despair did not the presence of many, whom I here see, remind me, that in the other high authorities provided by our constitution, I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal, on which to rely under all difficulties.

5. To you, then gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked, amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

6. During the contest of opinion through which we have past, the animation of discussions and of exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely, and to speak and to write what they think ; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the constitution, all will of course arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good.

7. All too will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable ; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate which would be oppression.

8. Let us then, fellow citizens, unite with one heart and one mind ; let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary things. And let us reflect, that having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little, if we countenance a political intolerance, as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions.

9. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore ; that this should be more felt and feared by some, and less by others ; and should divide opinions as to measures of safety ; but every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle.

10. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans : we are all federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it.

11. I know indeed that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong ; and that this government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear, that this government, the world's best hope, may, by possibility want energy to preserve itself : I trust not.

12. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it the only one, where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern.

13. Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the form of kings to govern them? Let history answer this question.

14. Let us then, with courage and confidence pursue our own federal and republican principle; our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe;

15. Too high minded to endure the degradations of the others, possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth generation, entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisition of our own industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow citizens, resulting not from birth but from our actions and their sense of them, enlightened by a benign religion, professed indeed and practised in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude and the love of man, acknowledging and adoring an over-ruling providence, which by all its dispensations proves that it delights in the happiness of man here and his greater happiness hereafter;

16. With all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow citizens, a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government; and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

17. About to enter, fellow citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend every thing dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principles, but not all its limitations.

18. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political:—peace, commerce,

and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none :—the support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies :—

19. The preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad : a jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided ;

20. Absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism : a well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them : the supremacy of the civil over the military authority :—

21. Economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burthened :—the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith : encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid : the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason :—

22. Freedom of religion ; freedom of the press ; and freedom of person, under the protection of the habeas corpus :—and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation, which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and information.

23. The wisdom of our sages, and blood of our heroes, have been devoted to their attainment :—they should be the creed of our political faith ; the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust ; and should we wander from them in moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty and safety.

24. I repair then, fellow citizens, to the post you have assigned me ! With experience enough in subordinate offices to have seen the difficulties of this the greatest of all, I have learnt to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect

man to retire from this station with the reputation, and the favor, which bring him into it.

25. Without pretensions to that high confidence you reposed in your first and greatest revolutionary character, whose pre-eminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love, and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history, I ask so much confidence only as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of your affairs.

26. I shall often go wrong through defect of judgment. When right, I shall often be thought wrong by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground. I ask your indulgence for my own errors, which will never be intentional, and your support against the errors of others, who may condemn what they would not if seen in all its parts.

27. The approbation implied in your suffrage, is a great consolation to me for the past; and my future solicitude will be to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance, to conciliate that of others by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.

28. Relying then on the patronage of your good will, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choices it is in your power to make. And may that infinite power, which rules the destinies of the universe, lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favorable issue for your peace and prosperity.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

United States, March 4, 1801.

PRESIDENT MADISON'S INAUGURAL SPEECH.

1. UNWILLING to depart from examples, of the most revered authority, I avail myself of the occasion now presented, to express the profound impression made on me by the call of my country to the station, to the duties of which I am about to pledge myself, by the most solemn of sanctions.

2. So distinguished a mark of confidence proceeding from the deliberate and tranquil suffrage of a free and virtuous nation, would under any circumstances, have demanded my gratitude and devotion—as well as filled me with an awful sense of the trust to be assumed.

3. Under the various circumstances which give peculiar solemnity to the existing period, I feel that both the honor and the responsibility allotted to me, are inexpressibly enhanced.

4. The present situation of the world is indeed without a parallel ; and that of our country full of difficulties. The pressure of these too, is the more severely felt, because they have fallen on us at a moment when national prosperity being at a height not before attained, the contrast resulting from the change, has been rendered the more striking.

5. Under the benign influence of our republican institutions, and the maintenance of peace with all nations, whilst so many of them were engaged in bloody and wasteful wars, the fruits of a just policy were enjoyed in an unrivalled growth of our faculties and resources.

6. Proofs of this were seen in the improvements of agriculture ; in the successful enterprizes of commerce ; in the progress of manufactures and useful arts ; in the increase of the public revenue, and the use made of it in reducing the public debt ; and in the valuable works and establishments every where multiplying over the face of our land.

7. It is a precious reflection that the transition from this prosperous condition of our country, to the scene which has for some time been distressing to us, is not chargeable on any unwarrantable views, nor, as I trust, on any involuntary errors, in the public councils.

8. Indulging no passions which trespass on the rights or the repose of other nations, it has been the true glory of the United States to cultivate peace by observing justice, and to entitle themselves to the respect of the nations at war, by fulfilling their neutral obligations, with the most scrupulous impartiality. If there be candor in the world, the truth of these assertions will not be questioned. Posterity at least will do justice to them.

9. This unexceptionable course could not avail against the injustice and violence of the belligerent powers. In their

rage against each other, or impelled by more direct motives, principles of retaliation have been introduced, equally contrary to universal reason and acknowledged law.

10. How long their arbitrary edicts will be continued in spite of the demonstrations, that not even a pretext for them has been given by the United States, and of fair and liberal attempts to induce a revocation of them, cannot be anticipated.

11. Assuring myself that under every vicissitude, the determined spirit and united councils of the nation will be safeguards to its honor and its essential interests, I repair to the post assigned me, with no other discouragement than what springs from my own inadequacy to its high duties.

12. If I do not sink under the weight of this deep conviction, it is because I find support in a consciousness of the purposes, and a confidence in the principles, which I bring with me into this arduous service.

13. To cherish peace and friendly intercourse with all nations, having correspondent dispositions ;—to maintain sincere neutrality towards belligerent nations ; to prefer in all cases amicable discussion, and reasonable accommodation of differences, to a decision of them by an appeal to arms ;

14. To exclude foreign intrigues and foreign partialities, so degrading to all countries, and so baneful to free ones ; to foster a spirit of independence, too just to invade the rights of others ; too proud to surrender our own ; too liberal to indulge unworthy prejudices ourselves, and too elevated not to look down on them in others ;

15. To hold the union of the states as the basis of their peace and happiness ; to support the constitution which is the cement of the union, as well in its limitations, as in its authorities ;

16. To respect the rights and authorities reserved to the states and to the people, as equally incorporated with, and essential to the success of the general system, to avoid the slightest interference with the rights of conscience, or the functions of religion so wisely exempted from civil jurisdiction ;

17. To preserve in their full energy the other salutary provisions in behalf of private and personal rights, and of the freedom of the press ; to observe economy in public ex-

penditures ; to liberate the public resources by an honorable discharge of the public debts ; to keep within the requisite limits a standing military force, always remembering, that an armed and trained militia is the firmest bulwark of republics ;

18. That without standing armies their liberty can never be in danger ; nor with large ones safe : to promote by authorized means improvements friendly to agriculture, to manufactures, and to external as well as internal commerce ; to favor, in like manner, the advancement of science and the diffusion of information, as the best aliment to true liberty ;

19. To carry on the benevolent plans, which have been so meritoriously applied to the conversion of our aboriginal neighbors from the degradation and wretchedness of savage life, to a participation of the improvements of which the human mind and manners are susceptible in a civilized state. As far as sentiments and intentions such as these can aid the fulfilment of my duty, they will be a resource which cannot fail me.

20. It is my good fortune moreover to have the path in which I am to tread, lighted by examples of illustrious services, successfully rendered in the most trying difficulties by those who have marched before me. Of those of my immediate predecessor, it might least become me here to speak.

21. I may however be pardoned for not suppressing the sympathy with which my heart is full, in the rich reward he enjoys in the benedictions of a beloved country, greatly bestowed for exalted talents, zealously devoted through a long career, to the advancement of its highest interest and happiness.

22. But the source to which I look for the aids, which alone can supply my deficiencies, is in the well tried intelligence and virtue of my fellow citizens, and in the councils of those representing them in the other departments, associated in the care of the national interest. In these my confidence will, under every difficulty, be best placed ;

23. Next to that which we have all been encouraged to feel in the guardianship and guidance of that Almighty Being, whose power regulates the destiny of nations—whose blessings have been so conspicuously dispensed to this rising

republic, and to whom we are bound to address our devout gratitude for the past, as well as our fervent supplications and best hopes for the future. JAMES MADISON.

Washington, March 4, 1809.

ON EDUCATION IN NEW-ENGLAND.

1. AMONG the customs which are universal among the people, in all parts of the state, one that seems worthy of remark, is, the attention that is paid to the education of children.

2. The aim of the parent, is not so much to have his children acquainted with the liberal arts and sciences ; but to have them all taught to read with ease and propriety ; to write a plain and legible hand ; and to have them acquainted with the rules of arithmetic, so far as shall be necessary to carry on any of the most common and necessary occupations of life.

3. All the children are trained to this kind of knowledge : they are accustomed from their earliest years to read the holy scriptures, the periodical publications, newspapers, and political pamphlets ; to form some general acquaintance with the laws of their country, the proceedings of the courts of justice, of the general assembly of the state, and of the congress.

4. Such a kind of education is common and universal in every part of the state : and nothing would be more dishonorable to the parents, or to the children, than to be without it. One of the first things the new settlers attend to, is to procure a schoolmaster to instruct their children in the arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

5. No greater misfortune could attend a child, than to arrive at manhood unable to read, write, and keep small accounts : he is viewed as unfit for the common business of the towns and plantations, and in a state greatly inferior to his neighbors. Every consideration joins to prevent so degraded and mortifying a state, by giving to every one the customary education, and advantages.

6. This custom was derived from the people of New-England ; and has acquired greater force in the new settlements, where the people are apprehensive their children will have less advantages, and of consequence, not appear equal to the children in the older towns.

7. No custom was ever better adapted to private, or public good. Such kind of education and knowledge, is of more advantage to mankind, than all the speculations, disputes, and distinctions, that metaphysics, logic, and scholastic theology, have ever produced.

8. In the plain common good sense, promoted by the one, virtue, utility, freedom, and public happiness, have their foundations. In the useless speculations produced by the other, common sense is lost, folly becomes refined, and the useful branches of knowledge are darkened, and forgot.

ON RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.

1. RELIGION is one of those concerns, which will always have great influence on the state of society. In our original frame and constitution, the benevolent Author of our natures, has made us rational and accountable creatures : accountable to ourselves, to our fellow men, and to our God.

2. These foundations of religion, are so strong, and universal, that they will not fail to have an effect on the conduct of every one : and while they thus enter into the feelings and conduct of all the members, they will unavoidably have a great influence on the state and conduct of society.

3. Nor can society either set them aside, or carry on the public business without them. Instead of this, in one form or another, society will be perpetually calling in the aids of religion.

4. When human declarations and evidence are to receive their highest force, and most solemn form, or when the most important transactions are to be performed, and offices of the highest trust and consequence are committed to men, the

last appeal will be to religion, in the form of solemn affirmation or oath.

5. The most pure and benevolent system of religion, which has ever prevailed among men, is that of christianity. This religion, founded in truth, and adapted to the nature and state of man, has proposed for its end and aim, that which is of the highest importance to men and to society, universal benevolence, the love of God and man, or universal virtue.

6. But neither this, nor any other system of moral truth, can impart infallibility to men. Whatever infallibility there may be in moral, in mathematical, or in revealed truths, men may greatly mistake when they come to explain, and apply them :

7. And instead of being above all possibility of error, they will find that infallibility belongs only to the government of God ; and that it certainly is not entailed on any parties, or denominations of men.

8. The first and the most important obligation any man can feel, is to obey his Maker, and the dictates of his own heart. The peace of our minds depends more essentially on this, than any other circumstance in the course of human life.

9. What then has society to do in matters of religion, but simply to follow the laws of nature : to adopt these, and no other ; and to leave to every man a full and perfect liberty, to follow the dictates of his own conscience, in all his transactions with his Maker ?

ON LOVE TO GOD.

1. O GOD, thou art love itself ! The book of nature, and the book of revelation teach this truth ; and my heart—that heart which thou hast formed to love thee, and which thou hast made capable of tasting this exquisite pleasure—will not permit me to doubt it.

2. Thou art the origin and source of all the variety of beauties and perfections that are dispersed throughout the

earth ! All that is great and amiable unite in thee. To will, and to do good—this is thy divine essence. Thou regardest all the beings thou hast formed with paternal affection. Thou takest care of them ; thou doest them good.

3. All that comes from thee, O thou Supreme ! all that proceeds from thy hand, good and evil, pleasure and pain, prosperity and adversity, favors and chastisements, all tend to promote our felicity, all are adapted to exalt us to greater perfection.

4. I myself, who am so inconsiderable a creature, who am as nothing when compared with the rest of thy creation, I can every moment draw comfort from this inexhaustible source. In what intimate relations do I stand to thee ? Thou art my Creator—I am the work of thy hands. Thou art my Sovereign, and I am thy subject. Thou art my Father, and I am thy child.

5. Can I be connected with thee by stronger and more endearing ties ? Can any thing give a juster claim to all the affections of my heart than these natural and indissoluble relations give ? And art thou not the kindest, the most bountiful, the tenderest and most affectionate Father ? Am I not indebted to thee, for life and breath, and all things ?

6. How various and great are the gifts and benefits which thou hast heaped on me, and which thou still continuest to bestow ! All that I am, all that I have, all that I am capable of being, is the effect of thy munificence. Thy bounty provides for the wants of my body and my soul.

7. With how many advantages, comforts, pleasures, and joys, hast thou strewed my path ? What assistance dost thou grant to my weakness, with what indulgence dost thou bear with my sins, and with what tender solicitude dost thou recal me from my wanderings. With what wisdom dost thou conduct and direct my lot, and all that shall befall me.

8. But how can I speak of the unmerited and inestimable tokens of thy love which thou hast given me by Jesus Christ, through whom thou hast taught me to hope for the forgiveness of sins, the aids of thy spirit, and everlasting life.

9. Yes, O my God, thou art essentially bountiful and good, and wilt be so forever. I find myself as much surrounded with thy mercies as I am with the light which

shines around me. I have daily experience that to do good and to bless is thy eternal employment.

10. And shall I not love thee with all my heart, and soul, and mind, and strength? Shall not the idea of thy existence and amiable attributes become the most natural, and most delightful and consoling idea I am capable of forming.

11. Can I think of thee, O my God—of thee who art my Creator, my Benefactor, my Father, as well as of all other beings—without experiencing the most delightful satisfaction, without feeling the most lively transports of gratitude and joy?

12. I rejoice in thee, O my God, I rejoice in thinking that thou existest, that thou art an eternal and infinitely perfect Being. I rejoice in thinking of the close relations which unite me to thee. I rejoice in thinking on the ways of thy providence, on the manner in which thou hast arranged all things in the natural and moral world.

13. I rejoice to think that every thing takes place by thy will, that it is thou who orderest and directest all things; that all is good and perfect in its kind; that all is the effect and proof of thine infinite love. It is in this light I would henceforward see all things; blessings and afflictions, pleasures and pains, all that befalls others and myself.

14. I will not forget that all things come from thee, provided by thy wisdom and bestowed by thy love. My joy, my happiness, shall always consist in loving thee, in conforming my will to thine, in resigning myself entirely into thy hands as into the hands of the best of fathers, and hereby strengthening more and more the ties which unite me to thee.

15. It is true my gross senses, and the different ties which unite me to the earth, do not permit me so often to elevate my soul to thee, nor to perceive thine adorable perfections and august presence in that lively manner, my soul desires, in the moments consecrated to piety;

16. But I will cherish the hope that I shall hereafter know thee better, adore thee more worthily, unite myself more closely to thee, and love thee with more ardor; and then shall I experience, in contemplating thee, O my God, the most pure and most ravishing joy.

A SURE RULE IN THE CONDUCT OF LIFE.

1. WHAT is the wisest use I can make of the present life ? What road ought I to pursue, in order most safely to attain the end of my existence ? How can I most successfully prepare myself for a more perfect and happy state after death ? How different are the paths in which men walk ! How opposite and contradictory are the maxims they adopt, and the ends they propose to themselves !

2. Nothing is more common than to see them wandering into forbidden paths, and failing of the end they have in view ! To avoid falling into the same mistakes, I need a sure and safe rule which I may follow without danger, and an enlightened guide in whom I may entirely confide.

3. But where shall I find either the one or the other, unless in the heavenly doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the example which he hath left us. Yes, he is the way, the truth, and the life. To him we must continually look, after him we must frame our lives ; to his voice we must be attentive and obedient, and in his steps we must tread.

4. Whoever follows him with sincerity and perseverance cannot go astray ; but will finally attain the highest degree of perfection of which he is capable. May it be my endeavor to become every day more like him, conformed to his example, and obedient to his precepts !

5. Grant me, O merciful God, thine assistance, and the aids of that spirit which thou didst shed so abundantly on thy well beloved Son. Thus supported and protected, I shall surmount the greatest difficulties, and shall find my greatest happiness and glory in the practice of virtue, and the progress of holiness.

A PARENT'S REFLECTIONS ON HIS DUTY.

1. O GOD, the Creator of all men, and the source of all happiness, thou makest use of thy creatures as the instrument by whom thou communicatest thy gifts, and even life

itself, to other beings of the same species ; and by this plan thou makest them partakers of thy supreme felicity, in the divine and heavenly pleasures of making others happy.

2. Thou hast permitted me to taste of this happiness. Thou hast given me children, and committed them to my direction and care. What a valuable present of thy bounty ! What an abundant source of pleasure and joy for me ! Thou hast implanted in me the tenderest affection to my feeble offspring.

3. Thou hast made me as feelingly alive to their pleasures and pains as to my own. Thou hast not left my children dependent on the cool dictates of reason, but hast urged me to the full discharge of my duty by the stimulations of an instinct more speedy and forcible in its operations than any deliberate arguments could possibly be.

4. Thou hast engaged and animated me to do them all the good in my power by every feeling of the heart. This affection which burns within me is a spark of that love which thou bearest to all thy creatures. But this parental affection ought to be, like thine, a wise and enlightened principle. Its object should be, not an external and momentary happiness, but a true and permanent felicity.

5. It is not merely to the subsistence of my children, to the growth and shape of their bodies, that I would devote my chief attention, but, principally, to the culture of their minds and hearts.

6. It is my duty to form them to rational men, sincere christians, useful members of society, affectionate husbands and wives, tender parents, good masters, faithful friends, and virtuous citizens.

7. It is my duty to teach them to love their Creator above all, to love their fellow creatures as their brethren, and to rejoice in the persuasion that thou art our common Father. I should form them not only for time, but for eternity.

8. This is one of the most noble and honorable employments, one of the most important and delightful duties which thou hast required of me. I will sacrifice every thing, the flattering pleasures and the sweetest enjoyments of life, to this important task.

9. No age, no state, no other relation of life can set me free from so sacred an obligation. It is *myself* who must dis-

charge it ; and I cannot, either wholly or in part, make over this duty to another ; since it is impossible that an hireling should feel the same sentiments which animate the breast of a parent, and should be susceptible of the same zeal and the same patience.

10. If I am obliged to have recourse, in this important office, to the assistance and talents of others, they can act only under my direction, and as workers together with me.

11. This duty is undoubtedly difficult and laborious ; but if, by thine assistance, O my God, I acquit myself with success, what a train of pleasures and advantages will result from it to myself and society.

12. To guide feeble and ignorant creatures in the road to happiness ; to teach them to make a good use of their powers ; to contribute to the unfolding of the faculties and dispositions with which they are endued ;

13. To guard innocent beings from error, vice and misery, who are exposed to a thousand dangers and temptations ; to throw the seeds of truth, wisdom and virtue into their young minds, as yet open to every impression ; to cherish and strengthen more and more the good dispositions which begin to spring up in them ;

14. To bring them acquainted with the design of their being, both present and future ; to keep them at a distance from the poisonous sources of vice and folly, and to open to them those of wisdom, contentment, and joy ; to fit them for acting their part on the great theatre of the world, with credit to themselves and satisfaction to their fellow creatures.

15. What a noble and sublime employment ! What a recompense will attend it in this world and another. May I be more penetrated with a sense of its dignity and importance, that I may acquit myself with a zeal that shall ensure its success.

16. Yes, to give my children a liberal and christian education shall be my principal and my sweetest occupation. Every thing animates me to this duty—nature, religion, the happiness of my children, my own happiness, and that of society.

17. Am I not answerable for my conduct with respect to them, to the tribunal of my own conscience, to society,

and to God, who is the Father of my children ? Do not their usefulness or unusefulness in the world ; the good or evil they shall do ; their happiness or misery, present or future—do they not depend in a great measure on the education and cultivation I shall have given them ?

18. May I not form the most delightful and rejoicing expectations with respect to futurity if I have zealously endeavored to give them good instruction ? On the contrary, must I not expect the most cutting sorrow if I have neglected this duty, or have acquitted myself ill in it ?

19. What wish shall I one day form, when death shall separate me from them ? What will then console me, and enable me to go with tranquillity into the state of retribution which awaits me in another world ?

20. Will it satisfy me to think that my children are sufficiently advanced to do without me ; that I leave them a decent patrimony, or even considerable riches ; that they are allied to opulent families ; that I have laid the foundation of their advancement ; that I have smoothed the way to important offices, dignities and fortune ? Will all this make me easy respecting their future lot, and give me the consoling hope of meeting them again in the mansions of eternal felicity ?

21. When the splendor and pomp of this world shall vanish from my sight, what shall I then wish with the greatest anxiety ? Will it not be that my children may be wise and virtuous men, and good christians ; and that they may persevere in the path of wisdom and virtue ? In my last moments it will little concern me whether they be in other respects rich or poor, elevated to the pinnacle of greatness, or lost in obscurity.

22. With what tranquillity shall I then be able to separate from them, and leave them under the direction of their heavenly Father ! And shall I not at present aspire, shall I not incessantly strive to obtain this end ? Shall I not do all in my power to attain it, and to procure for myself so delightful a satisfaction on the bed of death ?

23. It is true the most careful education will not always succeed. The most precious seed may be choked by bad examples, by the seduction of the corrupters of youth, or by the dominion of sensual appetites and irregular passions.

All my attention and care may be useless ; but such instances are not frequent.

24. Seldom does it happen that he who interests himself in the education of his children with a truly enlightened, active and indefatigable zeal is put to so painful a trial. The fruits of his labors may not often discover themselves till late ; if he do not live to reap the fruits himself, they may, nevertheless, one day come to maturity.

25. Besides, when I have given all my attention to the education of my children, I have nothing with which to reproach myself, even though it shall have been of no use. In this case I am not the author of their misery ; I have not contributed to it. How great soever it may be, I ought not to consider it as a punishment on me, but as a disaster I could not possibly prevent.

26. Preserve me, O my God, if it may be, from this greatest of all distresses. Gracious God ! Thou seest my beating, trembling heart ; hear the prayer of a parent ! Protect the feeble creatures thou hast committed to my care ! Suffer them not to become the deplorable victims of debauchery and vice.

27. Uphold and direct them, that they may never go astray and be lost. Make their path straight before them. Support them in the way of life ; and let innocence, truth, virtue and piety always accompany and preserve them. Let them be heirs of unfading glory ; let them be safe through eternity.

28. O that my children may be heirs of God, and joint heirs of Jesus Christ ! Should they be soon removed hence, may it be into Abraham's bosom ; or should they longer be continued here, may they be gathered at last, as a flock of corn, into the celestial garner.

29. Give thy blessing on all I have undertaken with this view, and on whatever I shall hereafter undertake. If my feeble efforts are ill directed, they are at least sincere. Supply my deficiencies, and grant me, Oh my God ! more light and knowledge, that I may choose the best means, and not be discouraged in the discharge of my important duty.

30. Happy, inexpressibly happy, shall I be, if at the hour of death, and in the day of judgment, I may be reunited to my children, never more to be separated ; and be

able to say, in the transports of joy, "Behold me, Lord, and the children thou hast given me."

31. They have, like me, happily finished their course ; they have kept the faith, and persevered in their obedience ; and now they humbly wait, with me, for the recompense which thou hast promised to those who have been faithful unto death."

32. With a view to all these blessings would I bring them, in the arms of faith and love, to the divine footstool, and resign them to the disposal of infinite goodness and mercy. To that kind and gracious God who gave them would I humbly commit them, to be guarded by thy providence, ministered to by thine angels, influenced by thy Spirit, conducted safely through the dangers and evils of this world, and preserved to thy everlasting kingdom in the other.

A CHILD'S REFLECTIONS ON HIS DUTY.

1. IN what a state of weakness and dependence, O my God, are the children of men born ! When they come into the world they are much more feeble, much more dependent, much more exposed to dangers than the most senseless animals. It is but slowly, and very late that they acquire sufficient strength to stand alone, without the assistance of their parents.

2. But this arrangement is the effect of thy paternal bounty. Thou intendest we should be raised above the brute creation, and become intelligent and moral beings. But such we cannot become but by a constant intercourse, and the daily instructions of persons better informed than ourselves.

3. And it is in order that we may enjoy this society and instruction, that thou hast so closely united us to beings of the same nature with ourselves, and placed us in such a state of dependence on one another.

4. I revere thy will, O my God ; and I return thee

thanks for the ties which unite me to my parents, and all the advantages I derive from it.

5. Yes, I perceive how feeble and dependent I am, and desire to think and act accordingly. Happy shall I think myself, if filled with love and gratitude to my parents, I fulfil my obligations to them with a tractable and joyful heart.

6. How great are my obligations to them ! What should I do without them ? Surrounded from my birth with ten thousand dangers, I should probably not have escaped any one of them, if the supporting and watchful hand of a father or a mother, or of persons who supplied their place, had not protected and snatched me from the dangers which threatened me.

7. Exposed to a thousand wants, without the power of supplying them ; a prey to hunger and thirst, to cold and heat, to sorrow and disease, I should have fallen a victim to all these evils had it not been for the assiduous attention of those who were around me, and their care to supply my want of knowledge and of strength.

8. For how long a time hath this state of weakness and dependence (in which I still in a great degree find myself) continued ? A stranger to every thing, the least thing fills me with fear and trouble. My mind, as feeble as my body, falters at every step, falls into a thousand errors, and, dazzled by a false lustre, suffers itself to be easily led astray by vain appearances.

9. I have not yet acquired sufficient experience to confide entirely in myself. To-day I judge totally different of men and things from what I did yesterday. Knowing but little of the design of my being, and the means of attaining it, I cannot yet tread with a firm and steady foot in the path of life.

10. How much do I need an enlightened and faithful guide ? Without such a director I run the risque of straying into a thousand obscure bypaths, the victim of every impostor who wishes to abuse my credulity, and the sport of every accident.

11. But who amongst mankind will guide me with more kindness, prudence, and circumspection than a father or a mother ? My parents are the first and surest guides I can

have in the journey of life, which is to me at present an unknown road. They will give me the benefit of their experience, light and strength.

12. They will warn me of the dangers I run, and remove the obstacles that lie in my way. They will teach me to distinguish reality from appearance, and to form a right judgment of mankind and the objects around me. They will raise me when I fall, and encourage my trembling steps.

13. They will lead me insensibly to wisdom and virtue, to the knowledge of God and religion, which they will teach me to study and to follow, as the noblest and most friendly guides to man, the most faithful and the surest conductors to happiness.

14. How great then are my obligations to my parents ! How can I ever acquit myself to them, and sufficiently acknowledge my gratitude ! How much have my maintenance, my early education, and the improvement of my mind already cost them ; and how much anxiety, pain and labor have I not occasioned them !

15. How many conveniences and pleasures, and accommodations have they not given up on my account ! How many tears have I made them shed for me ! How much disappointment and distress have they experienced for me ! How much more have they watched, labored, and lived for me, than for themselves !

16. And have I never made a perverse return for their love ? Have I never repaid their kindness with ingratitude ? Yet they have never ceased to give me new proofs of their tenderness, and never ceased to labor for my happiness.

17. Alas ! it is now I see my faults. The idea of having occasioned them anxiety and mortification, and of having grieved *their* hearts, afflicts and tears my own. I am ashamed that by obstinacy and disobedience I have hindered their good intentions in my behalf, and failed in my duty to them.

18. I will try in future to repair these faults, and to give them only satisfaction. To this my best endeavors shall be directed. Filial piety shall direct and animate all my conduct. I will say and do nothing that shall displease them.

19. I will make it my greatest pleasure to obey them, to

afford them every service and assistance in my power, and to become their consolation and their joy. I will give myself sincerely to their direction, instantly obey their commands, and, if possible, even anticipate their wishes.

20. The end to which I will direct all my efforts shall be to make a good use of all the means of instruction they procure me, that I may become more intelligent and wise, and hereby make the best return in my power for all their kindness.

21. Thus will I endeavor to lighten their burdens, relieve their cares, and rejoice their hearts with the pleasing hope that their labor has not been in vain.

22. Preserve me, O merciful God, from the levity and inconstancy of my age. Let the idea of thy presence, and of thy will, confirm me in every good resolution I have formed, and do thou assist me to execute them with perseverance and fidelity !

A YOUTH'S REFLECTIONS ON HIS DUTY.

1. HOW pleasant is the season of youth ! Like the fine days in the spring, it composes the prime of life, and promises in future a rich harvest. But, alas ! it passes away with the same rapidity, and the hopes it raises are often as deceitful. In the moral, as in the natural world, the finest blossoms do not always produce the fruit we had reason to expect :

2. *“ Fair is the bud his vernal morn brings forth,
And fostering gales awhile the nursling fan.
O smile, ye heavens, serene ! ye mildews wane,
Ye blighting whirlwinds, spare its balmy prime.”*

In vain are our wishes ! Too often, blasted by the hoar frost, or torn by the tempest, the fairest buds of hope, and the most promising plants perish, with the precious seed which they enclose.

3. How must it afflict the person, arrived at the maturity of manhood, when he casts his eyes over the days of

youth, if they have flown away without improvement—if he has foolishly consumed them in trifling occupations, or lost them in idleness.

4. What more distressing object can be held to the view of society than that of a man whose faculties, instead of being unfolded and enlarged by exercise, are benumbed by inactivity, or debilitated or worn out in the service of vice; carrying with him, into the maturer season, nothing but the disgraceful feelings of weakness, regret and remorse?

5. On the other hand, What pleasure must not a person experience in recalling to his mind the spring of life, who has employed it in forming his mind and his heart in preparing himself for useful occupations; and who, having cultivated the precious seed which the Creator has sown within us, can hope to reap for himself and others the most excellent fruits? How delightful is the sight of such a man to every sensible and virtuous person!

6. Happy will it be for me if I may one day taste this satisfaction, and procure it for my parents and fellow citizens. Happy for me if I entertain at present the same opinion of the important design of youth as I shall certainly have in maturer years, and in old age, in the hours of retirement and recollection, and at the approach of death.

7. But ah! how different is the point of view in which manhood and old age see the days of their youth, from that in which they are beheld by the young man himself! And how much more likely to be just is their opinion which is formed on their own experience and that of others! Where is the man who ever repented of having well employed his youth?

8. Does not this period of life, when passed in piety and innocence, procure us the most valuable advantages, and the most noble pleasures? On the other hand, how many deplore the loss or abuse of these most favorable days of their lives, and bitterly lament over the unhappy consequences of youthful errors?

9. How many are there who, in the flower of their lives, are a prey to the infirmities of a premature old age, become incapable of tasting the pleasures and comforts of domestic life, or to whom these pleasures are embittered and poisoned by remorse of conscience?

10. And shall not these lessons and experiences, so proper to instruct and encourage me, make me more wise and prudent ? Shall they not engage me wisely to employ the days of youth ; to fly the steps of those unfortunate persons whose very appearance terrifies me ;

11. To proceed with a firm and persevering step in the path where so many of my predecessors have reaped the advantages they now enjoy, and by which they have become valuable men, useful citizens, and wise and happy beings ?

12. The present is the season for sowing. If, at a more advanced period, I would not be reduced to the want of necessaries ; if I would not be a burden to myself and others ; if I would gather a rich and abundant harvest, I must sow the good seed, and carefully cultivate the ground which receives it. I must adorn my mind with wisdom, and my heart with virtue ; I must lay in a store of useful knowledge, and early acquire the habit of acting justly.

13. I must combat my evil thoughts before they gain the mastery ; I must extirpate my evil habits before they have taken deep root ; I must endeavor to secure the love and esteem of my fellow citizens, by a rational, modest, attentive, regular conduct, that I may be able to depend in future on their protection and support.

14. Youth is the time for discipline and preparation ; in this season I should acquaint myself with, and properly value, and exercise my faculties and powers, if I would one day employ them with facility and success ; I should acquire the information and the talents for which I shall have occasion in future life, and without which I shall stumble at every step, and find myself involved in a thousand perplexing difficulties.

15. I must accustom myself to self denials ; to bear contradiction and opposition ; to endure fatigue, trouble, and affliction ; to subdue my passions ; to conquer my sensual appetites ; if I would not one day sink under the weight of every duty and every trial.

16. How important then is the present season of life ! Mere wishes, slothful and feeble efforts, will not suffice to fulfil its duties and design. It is only by persevering endeavors, by a constant application, and by an unshaken firmness, that I can attain the end which I propose.

17. But need I be discouraged and alarmed at the necessity of diligence, application and resistance? Will not the wages be proportioned to the labor, and the triumph to the combat? Shall I postpone to an uncertain hereafter that which I can and ought to do at present? Is not the time I lose really lost forever? Has not every future period of my existence its particular employment?

18. Will it be the time for sowing when the season of gathering shall come, or for instruction when I shall be called to make use of my knowledge? What it is incumbent on me to do at this season, and which I neglect because of its difficulties, will become every year and every day more difficult?

19. Notwithstanding the health and strength I enjoy in the spring of life, may I not lose my powers, and die in the flower of my days? And what doom may I expect in the future state, if I have foolishly wasted the prime of life in the slavery of irregular passions and the corruptions of vice?

20. Let me watch continually over myself, over all the secret motions of my heart; let me not suffer myself to be seduced by the vain promises of vice, by the charms of an apparent liberty, or a treacherous joy.

21. Wisdom raises her voice to tell me that the intoxication of sense endures but for an instant; that the enchanted cup of luxury shall not be always sweet to my taste; that the pleasure I find in drinking it shall soon vanish, as a fleeting dream from which we are fearfully awakened; that the liberty with which I am flattered by vice is nothing but the vilest slavery, and that all its joys are poisoned at their source.

22. Whereas, no innocent pleasure which I forego, from a principle of virtue, shall be lost to me; sooner or later it shall be returned to me with interest. A train of pure and lasting joys shall recompense me, in manhood and old age, for the destructive or vain gratifications which I have prudently renounced.

23. And even when prevented, by an early death, from gathering, in this world, the fruits of a well regulated youth, shall I not reap a prodigious advantage if I am prepared to enter a more perfect abode, and sufficiently qualified for the

sublime employment and delicious pleasures which await the virtuous in a future existence ?

24. Yes, O my God, it is only by keeping thy commandments—by making wisdom and virtue, reason and religion his faithful guides, that a young man can preserve his innocence, look with calmness on the beginning of his course, and advance nearer and nearer to his supreme destination.

25. O may these faithful guides always accompany me in the journey of life ! Oh Almighty and most merciful God, do thou thyself conduct me, by thy spirit, in the straight road. Preserve me, by thy grace, from the wanderings of youth, and the tyranny of passions.

26. Let thy wise and good providence remove far from my path the obstacles and temptations which may occasion my fall. Assist my endeavors to become wise, and virtuous, and holy ; and accompany them with thy blessing. Place me in circumstances favorable to my improvement. Give me faithful friends and guides, and enable me to follow them in the paths of goodness.

27. Thou delightest, O God, to grant the desires which flow from a sincere heart, and to second the efforts of those who seriously aspire after greater perfection. Supported and guided by thee, I cannot fail of attaining in this world the design of my existence, and of arriving in the other at my supreme end.

THE EFFECTS OF PARENTAL PARTIALITY.

1. THE intrinsic moral worth of any character is entirely distinct from, and independent of, external circumstances. Every situation in human life affords sufficient opportunities for the cultivation of virtuous habits, and the performance of good actions ;

2. And as far as a man's virtues respect himself, it is of little consequence, whether they be displayed to public view from an exalted station, or concealed from the notice of the world in the humble retreats of poverty.

3. If the pine or the oak happen to grow in the valley,

the one is not on that account, in itself, the less lofty, nor the other the less majestic.

4. With respect, however, to the impressions which the virtues of one man may make on the imagination or feeling of another, or the degree of force with which his example will operate, much depends on the situation in which they appear, and the light in which they are exhibited.

5. In the still walks of domestic life, and under the lowly roof where honest labor dwells, if you will be at the pains to search for them, you will find many amiable and respectable characters, adorned and enriched with virtues which entitle them to a place among "the excellent of the earth," who, nevertheless, live unnoticed and forgotten; without reward, without praise, perhaps almost without support:

6. While others, whom fortune hath surrounded with the glare of earthly grandeur, continually set forth their whole stock of shining qualities before the gazing multitude, and are sure of obtaining at least as much admiration and applause as they deserve.

*"Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air."*

7. Perhaps we owe it to the extraordinary revolutions which happened in the life of Joseph (whose character and history we are now to consider) and to the elevated station which he filled in the court of Pharaoh, that the virtues of his early years, while he was a shepherd in the land of Canaan, a servant to Potiphar, and a prisoner in Egypt, were not buried in oblivion.

8. Under the former of these characters, the sacred history presents him to us, as at once a proper object of our admiration and pity. While we admire the gentleness of his dispositions, the innocence of his character, and the simplicity of his manners, we cannot but lament his misfortune, and be afflicted to see him fall a sacrifice to the imprudent partiality of his father, and the envy and malice of his brethren.

9. "Israel loved Joseph more than all his children:" And why? Was it because he took better care of the flocks and herds; because he was more dutiful and affectionate to

his father ; or because he had a better understanding or more amiable dispositions than his brethren ?

10. All this might possibly be true ; and out of any of these particulars a fond parent might have framed a plausible excuse for partiality : and perhaps, had Jacob been asked the reason of his, he might have so flattered and deceived himself, as to have imputed it to some one of these causes :

11. For, when men wish to excuse their actions to themselves or others, nothing is more common than to ascribe them to a good motive instead of the true one. But faithful history hath recorded the real ground of Jacob's partiality, " he loved Joseph more than all his children, because he was the son of his old age."

12. For no better reason than this, how often do we see parents indulging a partial fondness for some of their offspring, which in proportion as it prevails, alienates their hearts from the rest !

13. Some casual circumstance attending the birth of a child, a fortunate set of features or complexion, a striking resemblance of themselves, or of some absent or deceased friend, or perhaps some incident still more trifling, shall take such a powerful hold on their affections, that they shall not be able to deny themselves the gratification of distinguishing the object of their partiality by a thousand enviable tokens of peculiar regard.

14. Such distinctions, even when they are meant as rewards of real merit, ought to be conferred with caution and prudence ; lest, while encouragement is given to the more worthy, the inactive and timid should be disheartened, or the bold and aspiring disgusted ; and lest envy and malevolence should be raised by those measures which were intended to excite a generous emulation.

15. But when the ground of the distinction is slight and fanciful, the effect must necessarily be injurious, both with respect to the parents and the children. It is of no consequence in what particular manner this partiality is expressed.

16. Whether the favorite be oftener exempted from punishment for his faults, excused from irksome labors, indulg-

ed in the gratification of his fancies, or honored with kind words and gracious looks ;

17. Or whether he be raised above the rest by the plan of his education, his destination in life, his present appointments, or the provision which is made for him in future ;

18. Whatever be the peculiar badge of distinction, it is " a coat of many colors," which at once exposes the fond parent, who puts it on, to ridicule and censure, and the young man who wears it to envy and hatred.

19. This was experienced most sensibly both by the father and son in the story now under consideration. Jacob had the mortification to see, that his ill-judged partiality for one of his children deprived him of the cordial affection and esteem of the rest ; and soon found that it laid him open to the most unkind and cruel treatment.

20. Joseph felt that the elevation which a parent's fondness had given him above his brethren, instead of engaging their respect, had only drawn on him their ridicule, contempt and resentment.

21. They thought it hard and unjust that, in a numerous family, one child should engross the affections of the common parent ; that the streams which were designed by nature to water all the country round, should be confined to one channel, and flow in one direction alone.

22. Their pride could not brook the mortifying idea, that a brother, over whom nature had given them the advantage of seniority, and whom, in all other respects, she had placed on a level with themselves, should be raised above them by the caprice or dotage of their father.

23. The resentment which his partiality excited, at first expressed itself in contemptuous and reproachful language ; " They hated Joseph, and could not speak peaceably unto him."

24. It was still farther heightened by the recital of certain dreams, which foretold his future greatness. At length it settled into cool malice, and produced a deliberate purpose of revenge.

25. Having left their father's house, and, according to the custom of the times, taken an occasional residence in a neighboring country which afforded pasture for their flocks ;

26. Jacob, who still retained his parental affection for

his absent sons, and probably in a much stronger degree than their jealousy had permitted them to suppose, grew anxious concerning them, and sent out his son Joseph to inquire after their welfare.

27. "Go, I pray thee, says he, see whether it be well with thy brethren, and well with the flocks, and bring me word again." The young man cheerfully undertook the embassy, and executed it faithfully. He had not learned from his brethren to banish natural affection from his heart.

28. When he found that they had left the place to which his father had directed him, he did not, careless about the success of his undertaking, return home without farther search; but, making diligent inquiry, he discovered their present abode, and hastened towards them.

29. When he came within sight of their tents, how different the emotions which arose in the breast of Joseph, and in that of his brethren! On his part were no feelings but those of affection; no purposes but those of kindness.

30. Having been for some time separated from them, his remembrance of their former alienation was obliterated; or, however, the expectation of a happy interview awakened every tender sentiment in his heart, and left no room for the intrusion of unpleasing ideas.

31. As he drew near he rejoiced to behold their prosperity, and hoped to increase their happiness by bringing them good tidings of their father.

32. But, on his approach, a very different train of ideas rushed into their minds; far other passions rose in their breasts: all their former resentments and jealousies were in a moment rekindled: at the first sight of him they exclaimed---not, "see our brother!" but, "Behold, this dreamer cometh!"

33. A design was instantly formed to kill him, and to conceal their crime by saying that he had been devoured by some wild beast; and, had they been all equally bent on his destruction, the design had been immediately executed.

34. But, the elder brother Reuben, under the pretence of avoiding the horror of polluting their hands with their brother's blood, but in reality that he might afterwards contrive some means for Joseph's escape, proposed that they should cast him into a neighboring pit, and there leave him to perish.

35. This proposal being acceded to, the young man, immediately on his arrival, instead of being welcomed and embraced as a brother, or even saluted as a stranger, was seized and stripped of his raiment ; that coat of many colours, which had been so long the badge of his father's fondness, and the object of their envy ; and, after many cruel insults was thrown into the pit. All his entreaties, all his cries and tears, were ineffectual to obtain his release.

36. Malice is inexorable : before her tribunal natural affection and humanity intercede in vain ; she even teaches the heart to exult in misery, and to enjoy the horrors which her bloody hands have prepared.

37. The brethren of Joseph were not only instigated by their jealousy and resentment to expose his life : but, while his piteous cries were yet sounding in their ears, they proceeded to partake of their wonted repast, as if nothing had happened to disturb their tranquillity.

38. " They took him and cast him into a pit ; and they sat down to eat bread." Such enormous crimes do envy and malice, when they have been long suffered to lie rankling in the heart, and are allowed to gain daily strength by being indulged, at length render men capable of committing.

39. How carefully ought we to guard against the slightest venom of such deadly poison ! At this distressful moment, Providence brought that relief to Joseph which his brethren had denied him.

40. A company of Ishmaelites passing on their way to Egypt, it occurred to one of the company, that they might effectually rid themselves of this troublesome and aspiring youth, without shedding his blood, by selling him to these travellers.

41. There is in human nature such an abhorrence of murder, that even the greatest villains will, if possible, accomplish their ends without it, and will seldom commit this horrid crime from the mere wantonness of barbarity.

42. It was therefore natural, at the approach of these Ishmaelites, that Judah should say to his brethren, " what profit is it, if we slay our brother and conceal his blood ? come, let us sell him to the Ishmaelites, and let not our

hand be upon him, for he is our brother and our flesh ;" and that his brethren should be satisfied with the proposal.

43. Had they indeed rightly understood the principle which Judah suggested, and pursued it into its natural consequences, they would have seen, that to sell their brother as a slave was a crime scarcely less heinous in its nature, than that which they first proposed to commit :

44. But, probably, the frequency of the practice of purchasing and selling slaves might, in those days, as it does at present, render men inattentive to the moral nature of the action ; and they might think it a small crime to buy or sell a brother.

45. However this was, it was determined that Joseph should be sold : the Ishmaelites accordingly purchased him, and carried him into Egypt.

46. Reuben, who was absent when the bargain was made (having probably withdrawn himself with a view to rescue his brother as soon as the rest of the company had left the pit) on his return, expressed the utmost distress at the loss of Joseph ; perhaps imagining that during his absence they had dispatched him.

47. The whole affair, however, being explained to him, he acquiesced in what had been done, and they agreed to conceal the action from their father, by dipping the coat of many colors in blood, and thus leading him to conclude that some wild beast had torn his son in pieces.

48. The artifice succeeded ; and, by the help of that concealment and dissimulation which villainy is generally obliged to practise in order to carry on its designs, they persuaded their father that Joseph, his beloved son, was dead.

49. In devising and executing this deception, they might probably intend to take some revenge on their father for his unreasonable partiality in favor of the child of his old age.

50. But, whatever was their intention, it is most certain that he paid dear for this instance of weakness ; continuing for a long season to mourn for his son, with unabating and inconsolable grief :

51. " He refused to be comforted, and said, I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning." This whole story teacheth us the folly of parental partiality, more feelingly than the most labored reasonings of philosophy could

have done ; and ought to be a warning to all parents, not to distinguish one child from the rest by “ a coat of many colors.”

52. Let us now follow Joseph into Egypt, and observe the virtues which rendered him beloved and respected even in the humble state of servitude, and gradually prepared the way for his advancement.

53. Having been purchased from the Ishmaelites by Potiphar, an officer in Pharaoh's guards, his amiable manners soon attracted his master's notice, and gained him the station of a menial servant in Potiphar's family. Here he experienced the value of those virtuous and religious principles, which had been early sown, and had taken deep root, in his heart.

54. From his father's house he had brought treasures, which, even in a state of slavery, he could call his own, and which procured for him, what gold and silver could not have purchased, the favor of heaven. “ The Lord was with Joseph, and he was a prosperous man.”

55. The fidelity with which he constantly discharged his duty, and the attention which he always discovered to his master's interest, obtained, by degrees, such a share of his esteem, that at last he promoted him to offices of the highest honor in his family, and placed an unlimited confidence in his judgment and integrity, entrusted him with the sole management of his domestic affairs.

56. “ He made him overseer over his house, and all that he had he put into his hand ; and he knew not aught he had save the bread which he did eat.” And, that he had no reason to repent of his confidence in this upright youth, the sequel sufficiently shows.

57. Can we conceive a character more truly respectable, and worthy of imitation, than that which is here presented to our view ? What are the principal qualities in moral actions, from which we determine their value, and the degree of respect which they deserve ? Are they not chiefly these two, the design with which they are performed, and the vigor and strength of mind which is exerted in performing them ?

58. If a man acts from the most elevated views, and pursues the noblest ends with a steadiness and firmness of res-

olution which nothing can shake, our moral feelings lead us to pronounce him in the highest degree worthy of respect. Such was the character of Joseph.

59. Examined by this test, what share of respect will be due to the characters of those, who, while they boast of their honor and courage, accustom themselves to ridicule and despise such virtue as that of Joseph's ?

60. Is it not their avowed principle, that pleasure, in their sense of the term, is the supreme good, and that every thing else ought to be pursued only in subordination to this great object ;

61. That is, in other words, that every man should at all events procure for himself the highest degree of animal gratification in his power, how much soever it may interfere with the happiness of others, the obligations of religion, or even the superior interests of his own nature.

62. These men can therefore certainly have no claim to respect, on account of their principles and motives of action. Nor are they more respectable for the vigor and firmness of their minds :

63. For their whole life is nothing more than a continued course of weak compliances with the impulses of appetite ; by which their powers are gradually enervated, till at length they become incapable of those mental exertions which higher pursuits would require.

64. Let us not, then, suffer ourselves to be seduced by false appearances, or the influence of custom, into an opinion that there is any thing worthy of admiration or respect in the character of a man of pleasure, or any thing deserving of ridicule or contempt in that of a man of virtue.

65. If we judge of actions by their motives and tendencies, we must see, that to invade the property of another, or destroy his happiness, is as much a violation of the laws of morality and religion. when the immediate end is to procure ourselves pleasure, as when it is to put ourselves in possession of wealth ;

66. Let us then abstain from licentious pleasure with determined resolution, regardless of the contempt which its deluded votaries may cast on us ; and let us adhere to the path of virtue as the only road to real respect and substantial honor.

67. Nor let us entertain the most distant suspicion that virtue shall ever go without its reward. If in any particular instances it should subject us to ridicule and reproach ; if, through the malice of those whom our virtue has offended, it should for a time involve us in difficulties ; let us not despond.

68. Though Joseph was cast into prison by the artifices and falshoods of his disappointed and enraged seducer, through the prison (as the sequel will shew) lay the road to his future advancement. And the general tendencies of things, as well as the doctrine of revelation, authorise us to say, " Verily there is a reward for the righteous ; there is a God who judgeth the earth."

FILIAL AND BROTHERLY DUTY EXEMPLIFIED.

1. THE principal reason why men are so frequently dissatisfied with their condition, and disposed to complain of the ways of Providence, is, that they judge from present appearances and immediate effects, without being at the pains to consider the remoter tendencies, or having the patience to wait for the final issues, of events.

2. If storms arise, or any of the more terrible operations of nature take place, the merchant whose property sinks beneath the troubled waves, or the husbandman, the produce of whose field is consumed by the fires of heaven, murmurs at his ill fortune, and thinks it hard that industry should be unable to command success.

3. Under the anguish of acute diseases the restless sufferer, alike unmindful of past enjoyments and future prospects, and judging of the condition of human nature wholly from his present feelings, pronounces life a grievous burden, and wishes for leave to lay it down.

4. The sudden loss of some valued possession or some beloved friend, or a disappointment in the execution of some favorite scheme, shall spread such a gloom over every object around us, that we shall become incapable of relishing the blessings which yet remain, and shall be ready in the fretful-

ness of despondency to adopt the language of Jacob, "All these things are against me."

5. Whereas, if we would suffer ourselves to view the events which befall us in the calm light of philosophy and religion, we should soon be convinced, that the most dreadful appearances in the natural world, are a necessary part of that general plan, by which the order and beauty of the universe are preserved ;

6. That some degree of suffering is requisite to give us a higher relish of happiness ; and that our best affections and noblest virtues are cultivated and strengthened in the school of adversity.

7. If we consult our own experience, or observe that of others, we shall find that events which had at first the most unfavorable aspect, and seemed to give just occasion for discontent and complaint, have in the issue been productive of most important advantages.

8. That which happened in the history of Joseph is by no means so unusual, as the gloomy philosopher or the disappointed man of the world may imagine, that "what we think to be evil, God means for good."

9. It was from such just and enlarged views of nature and providence, and from a consciousness of his innocence and integrity, that Joseph derived his chief support, while he was confined in the king's prison in Egypt. He had the satisfaction to reflect, that neither in the land of Canaan, nor in the house of Potiphar, had he committed any offence which merited the treatment he had received :

10. He therefore hoped, that the Almighty Guardian of innocence would at length rescue him out of the hands of his oppressors. Being in the same prison with one of the king's servants who was soon to be released, he hoped to be able through his interest to obtain his enlargement :

11. He therefore said to him, "Think on me when it shall be well with thee, and shew kindness I pray thee unto me, and make mention of me unto Pharaoh, and bring me out of this house ; for indeed I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews, and here also have I done nothing that they should put me into the dungeon."

12. Reasonable, however, as Joseph's request was, and notwithstanding all the kindness he had shewn to the king's

servant in prison, he had the mortification to find, that on his advancement he no longer remembered the afflictions of his fellow prisoner : " Yet did not the chief butler remember Joseph, but forgot him."

13. Deserted by all the world, Joseph had now no resource but in the God of his fathers. In him he still cheerfully confided ; and he soon found, that " it is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man."

14. The supernatural power of interpreting dreams with which he was endued, and which he had discovered in prison, introduced him to the presence and notice of Pharaoh : and on account of the extraordinary sagacity which he displayed, he was on a sudden raised from the disgraceful abode of malefactors to the first place of honor and trust under Pharaoh.

15. Thus in one prosperous moment all his afflictions were ended, and his virtues received an ample reward.

16. The same virtues which had guided and supported this young man while he was in the humble condition of a shepherd and a servant, adorned and elevated his character when he was called to fill a superior station in the court of Egypt, and to act as prime minister to the absolute monarch of an extensive empire.

17. But, waving the consideration of his actions as a statesman, as less adapted to suggest moral instruction, let us view him in the relations of a brother and a son, and follow him through the interesting and pathetic scenes which the remaining part of his history exhibits.

18. The famine which Joseph had foretold reaching the country in which Jacob dwelt, and the wise precautions which the king of Egypt had taken to prevent its destructive effects having been reported abroad, Jacob determined to send his sons into Egypt to buy corn.

19. On this errand all, except Benjamin, went up to the court of Pharaoh. They soon gained access to the prime minister, who himself superintended the sale of corn from the public granaries.

20. The appearance of Zaph-Nath-Paaneah, the principal officer under the king of Egypt, was so entirely different from that of the afflicted and injured youth whom they

had sold to the Ishmaelites, that it was impossible for them to discover that the person was the same.

21. Joseph, at the instant that he saw his brethren before him, observing that he was unknown to them, resolved to keep them for a while in ignorance, that he might have an opportunity of discovering their present dispositions, and particularly of trying the strength of their affection for their father and their brethren.

22. To carry on this design, he assumed a sternness of aspect, and severity of language, that ill accorded with the tender emotions which this interview had occasioned.

23. He reproached them with coming into Egypt as spies, and required that before they should be permitted to carry a second supply of corn into Canaan, they should prove the truth of the account which they had given of themselves, by bringing their younger brother along with them, and in the mean time should leave one of their number bound in prison as a pledge for their return.

24. This demand, which included in it so many afflicting circumstances, involved them in the utmost perplexity and distress. In the hour of calamity, it is natural for the guilty to upbraid themselves, and ascribe their sufferings to their crimes.

25. The horrid plot which they had formerly devised against their brother's life, and their cruelty in turning a deaf ear to his cries, and abandoning him to all the wretchedness of slavery, now rose before their imaginations in their true colors.

26. Their consciences accused them ; and they said one to another, in their own language, " We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul when he besought us, and we would not hear, therefore is this distress come upon us." Joseph was so touched with this scene that he was obliged to turn aside and weep.

27. Determined however, to execute his design, he soon resumed his counterfeited severity, and persisted in requiring them to bring their younger brother.

28. When Jacob heard the hard conditions on which they were to expect the continuance of the necessary supplies of food, he was beyond measure afflicted, and refused to comply.

29. At length, however, finding that no other resource remained, he consented, and with a heart full of grief said, "If it must be so now, take your brother, and arise, go again unto the man ; and God Almighty give you mercy before the man, that he may send away your other brother and Benjamin : if I be bereaved of my children, I am bereaved."

30. On their second arrival in Egypt, the governor finding they had obeyed his orders, received them with great kindness, and so far indulged the natural feelings of his heart as to inquire affectionately concerning their father, and give the young stranger a cordial welcome.

31. "He asked them of their welfare, and said, Is your father well ? the old man of whom ye spake, is he yet alive ? And they answered, thy servant our father is in good health, he is yet alive ; and they bowed their heads, and made obeisance."

32. And seeing Benjamin his mother's son, he said, "Is this your younger brother, of whom ye spake unto me ? and he said, God be gracious unto thee, my son."

33. The scene now became too interesting to be supported without the natural relief of tears : that he might not therefore prevent the complete execution of his purpose by a premature discovery, he retired into his chamber and wept there.

34. After having received several tokens of kindness from the governor, they set out with fresh supplies of corn on their journey homewards ; but Joseph, who now became impatient to discover himself to his brethren, made use of an artifice to recal them, and to give him an opportunity of revealing the important secret.

35. Having ordered the silver cup out of which he drank to be privately conveyed into Benjamin's sack of corn, he called them back, charged them with the theft, and required that the person in whose sack it should be found should be his servant.

36. When the cup was found with Benjamin, all his brethren were exceedingly afflicted for their father ; and Judah, in a most pathetic speech, acquainted the governor with all the particulars of the case, and entreated that he himself might be permitted to remain a bondman instead of Benjamin.

37. Joseph was now sufficiently convinced that his brethren retained a dutiful and affectionate regard for their father, that mutual harmony subsisted among themselves, and that they sincerely repented of their former behavior towards him.

38. It was enough : his generous heart desired no more. Unwilling to give them pain for a single moment longer than was necessary to discover their present dispositions ;

39. Unable, after what had passed, to disguise his feelings, and suppress the strong emotions that struggled within him ; commanding the attendants to withdraw, a flood of tears burst from his eyes, and he said unto his brethren, " I am Joseph. Doth my father yet live ? And his brethren could not answer him.

40. And Joseph said unto his brethren, come near to me I pray you ; and they came near ; and he said, I am Joseph your brother, whom ye sold into Egypt : now therefore be not grieved nor angry with yourselves, that ye sold me hither ; for God did send me before you to preserve life."

41. Before we proceed with the narrative, let us pause to admire the tender, generous and noble spirit which Joseph discovered through the whole of this interesting scene. His sudden and extraordinary advancement had not so far elated his spirit, as to render him capable of looking down with contempt on his brethren ;

42. Absence had not worn out the impressions, which natural relation and early connections had made ; nor had even the malicious barbarity of his brethren, in that scene of his life which was too distressful ever to be forgotten, been able to tear asunder the bonds of nature.

43. Though they had injured him beyond reparation ; though he had suffered such indignities and cruelties as might have been sufficient to have justified the warmest resentment ; he still remembered that the persons who had treated him in this manner were his brethren ;

44. He still felt the powerful attractions of natural affection ; and, finding them disposed to receive, and capable of enjoying, his friendship, he used his utmost endeavors to establish a mutual and lasting attachment.

45. He did not satisfy himself with coldly assuring them

that he had forgiven them ; he restored them to a place in his heart, treated them with every external mark of kindness, and continued, through the remainder of his life, to render them the most important and generous services.

46. Such generosity as this, it is much easier to admire than to imitate. When we are called to make the application, and to exhibit in our own conduct similar examples of a forgiving temper, we are too apt to imagine that there are some essential peculiarities in our circumstances, which may serve as a reasonable apology for indulging our resentments.

47. Though the injury we have suffered may bear no proportion to that which Joseph knew how to forgive ; though no attempt has been made on our life, our liberty, or our property ;

48. Though perhaps the offence that has been committed amounts to nothing more than an angry word, a censorious reflection, a bold contradiction of our opinion, or merely a violation of the rules of good breeding and politeness ;

49. Yet we find means to persuade ourselves that the culprit has no claim to forgiveness, and that to persist in our resentment against him is innocent and even laudable. The true reason of this is, that we do not in reality possess so much of the genuine spirit of benevolence and piety as we may perhaps persuade others, and ourselves, to imagine.

50. How much soever men may declaim on the excellence of charity, and boast of their philanthropy, they are in reality destitute of this divine principle, if it hath not taught them the lessons of forbearance and forgiveness ; "for charity suffereth long, is not easily provoked ; beareth all things ; endureth all things."

51. Nor is a disposition to resentment and revenge consistent with a becoming regard to the Supreme Power ; for the genuine principles of religion would teach us, that even the passions and vices of men, under the direction of the wise Governor of the world, contribute towards the general order and happiness ;

52. And would enable us to bear with the infirmities of our brethren, with an humble reliance on that Providence which can bring harmony out of discord, good out of evil.

It was on these principles that Joseph reasoned, when he said to his brethren, "Ye thought evil against me, but God meant it unto good."

53. There is yet another part of Joseph's history, which places his character in a peculiarly amiable point of view, and suggests the most useful instructions ; namely, his behavior towards his father and his brethren, after he had made himself known to them.

54. Far from being ashamed of his descent from an obscure Canaanite, and his relation to a family of shepherds, he rejoiced in the opportunity which his rank and authority gave him, of making the last days of his aged parent easy and comfortable, and granting his whole family an agreeable settlement in Egypt.

55. Had he been governed by that foolish vanity, which in weak and depraved minds is often the effect of sudden elevation, he would gladly have availed himself of the disguise which his new station afforded him, and continued unknown to his brethren : he would rather have chosen to suppress the efforts of natural affection on their unexpected appearance before him, than to disgrace himself by acknowledging such poor and obscure relations :

56. Or if, in the struggle between pride and natural affection, the latter had so far prevailed, as to induce him to afford them support and assistance, he would have thought the obligations of the filial and fraternal relations sufficiently discharged, by privately granting them supplies in their own country.

57. But Joseph was too wise, and too good, to suffer any portion of this contemptible species of pride to find a place in his heart. The first ideas which occurred to his mind, after the tender emotions which attended the discovery of himself to his brethren had subsided, were, not, "How shall I avoid the disgrace which this discovery will bring on me ? In what manner shall I dispose of these poor shepherds, to escape the ridicule and contempt of the courtiers, and the king my master ?"

58. But "How shall I most effectually employ my power and influence in the service of my family ?" His message to his father by his brethren was this, "God hath made me lord of all Egypt ; come down unto me, tarry not, and thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen ;

59. And thou shalt be near me, thou, and thy children, and thy children's children, and thy flocks, and thy herds, and all that thou hast, and there will I nourish thee, lest thou and thy household and all that thou hast come to poverty."

60. Joseph was persuaded that a life of pastoral simplicity would be much more agreeable to his father and brethren, who had always followed the occupation of shepherds, than the artificial elegancies and ceremonies of the court ; he therefore fixed their residence in one of the most fertile and pleasant provinces of Egypt, the land of Goshen.

61. When Jacob received the welcome news that his son Joseph was still living, and the kind message which he had commissioned his brethren to deliver, his heart fainted for joy ; and on his revival he exclaimed, " It is enough ! my son Joseph is yet alive ! I will go and see him before I die."

62. He immediately executed his purpose, and met with the most affectionate reception from his son. " Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet his father, and presented himself unto him, and he fell upon his neck, and wept on his neck a good while."

63. The first tender interview being over, Joseph, neither ashamed of his relations, nor afraid that their occupation, which was esteemed dishonorable by the Egyptians, should expose them to difficulties, or subject himself to obloquy, introduced his father and his brethren into the presence of the king. As if proud of his connection with the venerable old man, " he brought in Jacob his father, and set him before Pharaoh."

64. Let those who are so much the slaves of vanity, as to be capable of despising their poor relations and aged parents, read this part of the history of Joseph, and blush.

65. There is so much contemptible folly in being ashamed to own a father or brother, because fortune has not raised him to the same point of distinction, or decked him with the same ornaments, with ourselves ; that, without any other evidence, we may certainly pronounce the understanding of the man who is capable of such conduct weak and defective.

66. And this behavior withal implies so much ingratitude and insensibility, that we need not hesitate to deter-

mine, that such a man is, in a great measure at least, a stranger to the nobler and more generous virtues, and under the dominion of base and fordid passions.

67. If there be a person in the world entitled to our respectful attention, our affectionate esteem, and our active services, it must surely be the tender and faithful parent, who has been the protector of our infant years, and the guide of our youth.

68. Can any accidental distinctions we may have acquired, cancel our debt of gratitude, for the assiduous attentions and unceasing attentions of a fond mother, or for the early and unwearied endeavors of a kind father to render us wise, virtuous and happy ?

69. Rather, ought not every increase of our fortune and consequence to furnish us with an additional motive, as it affords us new opportunities, to contribute to the ease and happiness of our parents in their advancing years ? Can any thing be more persuasive than the reasoning of the Son of Sirach on this head ?

70. "Honor thy father with thy whole heart, and forget not the sorrows of thy mother ; for how canst thou recompense them the things that they have done for thee ?"

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH, FROM THE TIME OF ABRAHAM, TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

1. MANKIND had not long been united into societies before they set themselves to oppress and destroy one another. Chaderlaomer, king of the Elamites, or Persians, was already become a robber and a conqueror. His force, however, must not have been very considerable, since, in one of these expeditions, Abraham, assisted only by his household, set on him in his retreat, and, after a fierce engagement, recovered all the spoil that had been taken.

2. Abraham was soon after obliged by a famine to leave Canaan, the country where God had commanded him to settle, and to go into Egypt. This journey gives occasion

to Moses to mention some particulars with regard to the Egyptians, and every stroke discovers the characters of an improved and powerful nation.

3. The court of the Egyptian monarch is described in the most brilliant colors. He is surrounded with a crowd of courtiers, solely occupied in gratifying his passions. The particular governments into which this country was divided, are now united under one powerful prince ; and Ham, who led the colony into Egypt, is become the founder of a mighty empire.

4. We are not, however, to imagine, that all the laws which took place in Egypt, and which have been so justly admired for their wisdom, were the work of this early age. Diodorus Siculus, a Greek writer, mentions many successive princes, who labored for their establishment and perfection. But in the time of Jacob, two centuries after, the first principles of civil order and regular government seem to have been tolerably understood among the Egyptians.

5. The country was divided into several districts or separate departments ; councils, composed of experienced and select persons, were established for the management of public affairs ; granaries for preserving corn were erected ; and, in fine, the Egyptians in this age, enjoyed a commerce far from inconsiderable. These facts, though of an ancient date, deserve our particular attention.

6. It is from the Egyptians, that many of the arts, both of elegance and utility, have been handed down in an uninterrupted chain to the modern nations of Europe. The Egyptians communicated their arts to the Greeks ; the Greeks taught the Romans many improvements both in the arts of peace and war ; and to the Romans, the present inhabitants of Europe, are indebted for their civility and refinement.

7. The kingdoms of Babylon and Nineveh remained separate for several centuries : but we know not even the names of the kings who governed them, unless it be Ninus, the successor of Assur, who, fired by the spirit of conquest, extends the bounds of his kingdom, adds Babylon to his dominions, and lays the foundation of that monarchy, assisted by his enterprising successor Semiramis, which, under the name of the Assyrian empire, kept Asia under the yoke for many ages.

8. Javan, son of Japhet, and grand-son of Noah, is the stock from whom all the people known by the name of Greeks are descended. Javan established himself in the islands in the western coast of Asia Minor, from whence it was impossible that some wanderers should not pass over into Europe.

9. The kingdom of Sicyon near Corinth, founded by the Pelasgi, is generally supposed to have commenced in the year before Christ two thousand and ninety. To these first inhabitants succeed a colony from Egypt, who, about two thousand years before the christian æra, penetrated into Greece, and, under the name of Titans, endeavored to establish monarchy in this country, and to introduce into it the laws and civil policy of the Egyptians.

10. But the empire of the Titans soon fell asunder ; and the ancient Greeks, who seem at this time to be as rude and barbarous as any people in the world, again fell back into their lawless and savage manner of life. Several colonies, however, soon after passed over from Asia into Greece, and by remaining in that country, produced a more considerable alteration in the manner of its inhabitants.

11. The most ancient of these were the colonies of Inachus and Ogyges ; of whom the former settled in Argos, and the latter in Attica. We know very little of Ogyges or his successors. Those of Inachus endeavored to unite the dispersed and wandering Greeks ; and their endeavors for this purpose were not altogether unsuccessful.

12. But the history of God's chosen people, the Israelites, is the only one with which we are much acquainted during those ages. The train of curious events, which occasioned the settling of Jacob and his family in that part of Egypt of which Tanis was the capital, are universally known. That patriarch died, according to the Septuagint version, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four years before Christ, but according to the Hebrew chronology, only one thousand six hundred and eighty-nine years, and in the year of the world two thousand three hundred and fifteen.

13. This is a remarkable æra with respect to the nations of heathen antiquity, and concludes that period of time which the Greeks considered as altogether unknown, and which they have greatly disfigured by their fabulous narra-

tions. Let us regard this period then in another point of view, and consider what we can learn from the sacred writings, with respect to the arts, manners, and laws of ancient nations.

14. It is a common error among writers on this subject, to consider all the nations of antiquity as being on the same footing with regard to those matters. They find some nations extremely rude and barbarous, and hence they conclude, that all were in that situation. They discover others acquainted with many arts, and hence they infer the wisdom of the first ages.

15. There appears, however, to have been as much difference between the inhabitants of the ancient world, in points of art and refinement, as between the civilized kingdoms of modern Europe and the indians in America, or the negroes on the coast of Africa.

16. Noah was undoubtedly acquainted with all the arts of the antediluvian world : these he would communicate to his children, and they again would hand them down to their posterity.

17. Those nations therefore who settled nearest the original seat of mankind, and who had the best opportunities to avail themselves of the knowledge of which their great ancestor was possessed, early formed themselves into regular societies, and made considerable improvements in the arts which are most subservient to human life.

18. Agriculture appears to have been known in the first ages of the world. Noah cultivated the vine ; in the time of Jacob, the fig-tree and the almond were well known in the land of Canaan ; and the instruments of husbandry, long before the discovery of them in Greece, are often mentioned in the sacred writings.

19. It is hardly to be supposed, that the ancient cities, both in Asia and Egypt, whose foundation, as we have already mentioned, ascends to the remotest antiquity, could have been built, unless the culture of the ground had been practised at that time. Nations who live by hunting or pasturage only, lead a wandering life, and seldom fix their residence in cities.

20. Commerce naturally follows agriculture : and though we cannot trace the steps by which it was introduced among

the ancient nations, we may, from detached passages in sacred writ, ascertain the progress which had been made in it during the patriarchal times.

21. We know, from the history of civil society, that the commercial intercourse between men must be pretty considerable, before the metals come to be considered as the medium of trade ; and yet this was the case even in the days of Abraham.

22. It appears, however, from the relations which establish this fact, that the use of money had not been of an ancient date ; it had no mark to ascertain its weight or fineness : and in a contract for a burying-place, in exchange for which Abraham gave silver, the metal is weighed in presence of all the people.

23. But as commerce improved, and bargains of this sort became more common, this practice was laid aside, and the quantity of silver was ascertained by a particular mark, which saved the trouble of weighing it. But this does not appear to have taken place till the time of Jacob, the second from Abraham.

24. The *sefilah*, of which we read in his time, was a piece of money, stamped with the figure of a lamb, and of a precise and stated value. It appears, from the history of Joseph, that the commerce between different nations was by this time regularly carried on.

25. The Ishmaelites and Midianites, who bought him of his brethren, were travelling merchants, resembling the modern caravans, who carried spices, perfumes, and other rich commodities, from their own country into Egypt. The same observations may be made from the book of Job, who, according to the best writers, was a native of Arabia Felix, and also a contemporary with Jacob.

26. He speaks of the roads of Thema and Saba, that is, of the caravans which set out from those cities of Arabia. If we reflect, that the commodities of this country were rather the luxuries than the conveniences of life, we shall have reason to conclude, that the countries into which they were sent for sale, and particularly Egypt, were considerably improved in arts and refinement : for people do not think of luxuries, till the useful arts have made high advancement among them.

27. In speaking of commerce, we ought carefully to distinguish between the species of it which is carried on by land, or inland commerce, and that which is carried on by sea : which last kind of traffic is both later in its origin, and slower in its progress.

28. Had the descendants of Noah been left to their own ingenuity, and received no tincture of the antediluvian knowledge from their wise ancestors, it is improbable that they should have ventured on navigating the open seas so soon as we find they did.

29. That branch of his posterity, who settled on the coasts of Palestine, were the first people of the world among whom navigation was made subservient to commerce : they were distinguished by a word, which, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies *merchants*, and are the same nation afterwards known to the Greeks by the name of Phœnicians. Inhabiting a barren and ungrateful soil, they set themselves to better their situation by cultivating the arts.

30. Commerce was their capital object : and, with all the writers of pagan antiquity, they pass for the inventors of whatever is subservient to it. At the time of Abraham they were regarded as a powerful nation ; their maritime commerce is mentioned by Jacob in his last words to his children ; and, if we may believe Herodotus in a matter of such remote antiquity, the Phœnicians had by this time navigated the coasts of Greece, and carried off the daughter of Inachus.

31. The arts of agriculture, commerce and navigation, suppose the knowledge of several others ; astronomy, for instance, or a knowledge of the situation and revolutions of the heavenly bodies, is necessary both to agriculture and navigation ; that of working metals, to commerce ; and so of other arts.

32. In fact, we find that before the death of Jacob, several nations were so well acquainted with the revolutions of the moon, as to measure by them the duration of their year.

33. It had been an universal custom among all the nations of antiquity as well as the Jews, to divide time into the portion of a week, or seven days : this undoubtedly arose from the tradition with regard to the origin of the world. It was natural for those nations who led a pastoral

life, or who lived under a serene sky, to observe that the various appearances of the moon were completed nearly in four weeks ; hence the division of a month.

34. Those people again who lived by agriculture, and who had gotten among them the division of the month, would naturally remark, that twelve of these brought back the same temperature of the air, or the same seasons : hence the origin of what is called the *lunar year*, which has every where taken place in the infancy of science.

35. This, together with the observation of the fixed stars, which, as we learn from the book of Job, must have been very ancient, naturally paved the way for the discovery of the *solar year*, which at that time would be thought an immense improvement in astronomy.

36. But with regard to those branches of knowledge which we have mentioned, it is to be remembered, that they were peculiar to the Egyptians, and a few nations of Asia. Europe offers a frightful spectacle during this period.

37. Who could believe that the Greeks, who in later ages became the patterns of politeness and every elegant art, were descended from a savage race of men, traversing the woods and wilds, inhabiting the rocks and caverns, a wretched prey to wild animals, and sometimes to one another ? This, however, is no more than what was to be expected.

38. The descendants of Noah, who removed at a great distance from the plains of Shinar, lost all connection with the civilized part of mankind. Their posterity became still more ignorant ; and the human mind was at length sunk into an abyss of misery and wretchedness.

39. We might naturally expect, that from the death of Jacob, and as we advance forward in time, the history of the great empires of Egypt and Assyria would emerge from their obscurity. This, however, is far from being the case : we only get a glimpse of them, and they disappear entirely for many ages.

40. After the reign of Ninus, who succeeded Semiramis and Ninus in the Assyrian throne, we find an astonishing blank in the history of this empire, for no less than eight hundred years. The silence of ancient history on this subject, is commonly attributed to the softness and effeminacy of the successors of Ninus, whose lives afforded no events worthy of narration.

41. Wars and commotions are the great themes of the historian, while the gentle and happy reigns of wise princes pass unobserved and unrecorded. Sesostris, a prince of wonderful abilities, is supposed to have mounted the throne of Egypt after Amenophis, who was swallowed in the Red Sea about the year before Christ one thousand four hundred and ninety-two ; by his assiduity and attention, the civil and military establishments of the Egyptians received very considerable improvements.

42. Egypt, in the time of Sesostris, and his immediate successors, was in all probability the most powerful kingdom on earth, and, according to the best calculation, is supposed to have contained twenty-seven millions of inhabitants. But ancient history often excites, without gratifying our curiosity : for, from the reign of Sesostris to that of Bocchoris, in the year before Christ seven hundred and eighty-one, we have little knowledge of even the names of the intermediate princes.

43. If we judge, however, from collateral circumstances, the country must still have continued in a very flourishing condition ; for Egypt continued to pour forth her colonies into distant nations.

44. Athens, that seat of learning and politeness, that school for all who aspire after wisdom, owes its foundation to Cecrops, who landed in Greece with an Egyptian colony, and endeavored to civilize the rough manners of the original inhabitants. From the institutions which Cecrops established among the Athenians, it is easy to infer in what situations they must have lived before his arrival.

45. The laws of marriage, with which few nations are so barbarous as to be altogether unacquainted, were not known in Greece. Mankind, like the beasts of the field, were propagated by accidental rencounters, and with little knowledge of those to whom they owed their generation. Cranaus, who succeeded Cecrops in the kingdom of Attica, pursued the same beneficial plan, and endeavored by wise institutions, to bridle the keen passions of a rude people.

46. Whilst these princes used their endeavors for civilizing this corner of Greece, the other kingdoms, into which this country, by the natural boundaries of rocks, mountains and rivers, is divided, and which had been already peopled

by colonies from Egypt and the east, began to assume some appearance of form and regularity.

47. This engaged Amphictyon, one of those uncommon geniuses who appear in the world for the benefit of the age in which they live, and the admiration of posterity, to think of some expedient by which he might unite in one plan of politics the several independent kingdoms of Greece, and thereby deliver them from those intestine divisions, which must render them a prey to one another, or to the first enemy who might think proper to invade them.

48. These reflections he communicated to the kings, or leaders of the different territories ; and by his eloquence and address engaged twelve cities to unite together for their mutual preservation. Two deputies from each of these cities assembled twice a year at Thermopylæ, and formed what, after the name of its founder, was called the Amphictyonic council.

49. In this assembly, whatever related to the general interest of the confederacy was discussed, and finally determined. Amphictyon likewise, sensible that those political connections are the most lasting which are strengthened by religion, committed to the Amphictyons the care of the temple at Delphi, and of the riches which, from the dedications of those who consulted the oracle, had been amassed in it.

50. This assembly, constituted on such solid foundations, was the great spring of action in Greece, while that country preserved its independence ; and, by the union which it inspired among the Greeks, enabled them to defend their liberties against all the force of the Persian empire.

51. Considering the circumstances of the age in which it was instituted, the Amphictyonic council is perhaps the most remarkable political establishment which ever took place among mankind. In the year before Christ one thousand three hundred and twenty-two, the Isthmian games were instituted at Corinth ; and one thousand three hundred and three the famous Olympic games by Pelops.

52. The Greek states, who formerly had no connection with one another, except by mutual inroads and hostilities, soon began to act with concert, and to undertake distant expeditions for the general interest of the community. The

first of these was the obscure expedition of the Argonauts, in which all Greece appears to have been concerned.

53. The object of the Argonauts was to open the commerce of the Euxine sea, and to establish colonies in the adjacent country of Colchis. The ship *Argo*, which was the admiral of the fleet, is the only one particularly taken notice of ; though we learn from Homer, and other ancient writers, that several sail were employed in this expedition.

54. The fleet of the Argonauts was, from the ignorance of those who conducted it, long tossed about on different coasts. The rocks, at some distance from the mouth of the Euxine sea, occasioned great labor : they sent forward a light vessel, which passed through, but returned with the loss of her rudder.

55. This is expressed in the fabulous language of antiquity, by their sending out a bird which returned with the loss of its tail, and may give us an idea of the allegorical obscurity in which the other events of this expedition are involved. The fleet, however, at length arrived at *Æon*, the capital of Colchis, after performing a voyage, which, considering the mean condition of the naval art during this age, was not less considerable than the circumnavigation of the world by our modern discoverers.

56. From this expedition to that against Troy, which was undertaken to recover the fair *Helena*, a queen of *Sparta*, who had been carried off by *Paris*, son of the Trojan king, the Greeks must have made a wonderful progress in power and opulence : no less than twelve hundred vessels were employed in this voyage, each of which, at a medium, contained upwards of a hundred men.

57. These vessels, however, were but half decked ; and it does not appear that iron entered at all into their construction. If we add to these circumstances, that the Greeks had not the use of the saw, an instrument so necessary to the carpenter, a modern must form but a mean notion of the strength or elegance of this fleet.

58. Having thus considered the state of Greece as a whole, let us examine the circumstances of the particular countries into which it was divided. This is of great importance to our present undertaking, because it is in this country only that we can trace the origin and progress of

government, arts, and manners, which compose so great a part of our present work.

59. There appears originally to have been a very remarkable resemblance between the political situation of the different kingdoms of Greece. They were governed each by a king, or rather by a chieftain, who was their leader in time of war, their judge in time of peace, and who presided in the administration of their religious ceremonies. This prince, however, was far from being absolute.

60. In each society there were a number of other leaders, whose influence over their particular clans, or tribes, was not less considerable than that of the king over his immediate followers. These captains were often at war with one another, and sometimes with their sovereign. Such a situation was, in all respects, extremely unfavorable : each particular state was in miniature what the whole country had been before the time of Amphictyon.

61. They required the hand of another delicate painter to shade the opposite colors, and to enable them to produce one powerful effect. The history of Athens affords us an example of the manner in which these states, that, for want of union, were weak and insignificant, became, by being cemented together, important and powerful.

62. Theseus king of Attica, about the year before Christ one thousand two hundred and thirty-four, had acquired a great reputation by his exploits of valor and ability. He saw the inconveniences to which his country, from being divided into twelve districts, was exposed ; and he conceived, that by means of the influence which his personal character, united to the royal authority with which he was invested, had universally procured him, he might be able to remove them.

63. For this purpose he endeavored to maintain, and even to increase, his popularity among the peasants and artisans : he detached, as much as possible, the different tribes from the leaders who commanded them : he abolished the courts which had been established in different parts of Attica, and appointed one council-hall common to all the Athenians.

64. Theseus, however, did not trust solely to the force of political regulations. He called to his aid all the power

of religious prejudices ; by establishing common rites of religion to be performed in Athens, and by inviting thither strangers from all quarters, by the prospect of protection and privileges, he raised this city from an inconsiderable village to a powerful metropolis.

65. The splendor of Athens and of Theseus now totally eclipsed that of the other villages and their particular leaders. All the power of the state was united in one city, and under one sovereign. The petty chieftains, who had formerly occasioned so much confusion, by being divested of all influence and consideration, became humble and submissive ; and Attica remained under the peaceable government of a monarch.

66. This is a rude sketch of the origin of the first monarchy of which we have a distinct account, and may without much variation, be applied to the other states of Greece. This country, however, was not destined to continue long under the government of kings. A new influence arose, which in a short time proved too powerful both for the king and the nobles.

67. Theseus had divided the Athenians into three distinct classes ; the nobles, the artisans, and the husbandmen. In order to abridge the exorbitant power of the nobles, he had bestowed many privileges on the two other ranks of persons.

68. This plan of politics was followed by his successors, and the lower ranks of the Athenians, partly from the countenance of their sovereign, and partly from the progress of arts and manufactures, which gave them an opportunity of acquiring property, became considerable and independent. These circumstances were attended with a remarkable effect.

69. On the death of Codrus, a prince of great merit, in the year before Christ one thousand and seventy, the Athenians, become weary of the regal authority, under pretence of finding no one worthy of filling the throne of that monarch, who had devoted himself to death for the safety of his people, abolished the regal power, and proclaimed that none but Jupiter should be king of Athens.

70. This revolution in favor of liberty was so much the more remarkable, as it happened soon after that the Jews

became unwilling to remain under the government of the true God, and desired a mortal sovereign, that they might be like other nations.

71. The government of Thebes, another of the Grecian states, much about the same time, assumed the republican form. Near a century before the Trojan war, Cadmus, with a colony from Phœnicia, had founded this city, which from that time had been governed by kings. But the last sovereign being overcome in single combat, by a neighboring prince, the Thebans abolished the regal power.

72. Till the days however of Pelopidas and Epaminondas, a period of seven hundred years, the Thebans performed nothing worthy of the republican spirit. Other cities of Greece, after the examples of Thebes and Athens, erected themselves into republics.

73. But the revolutions of Athens and Sparta, two rival states, which, by means of the superiority they acquired, gave the tone to the manners, genius and politics of the Greeks, deserve our principal attention. We have seen a tender shoot of liberty spring up in the city of Athens, on the decease of Codrus, its last sovereign. This shoot gradually improved into a vigorous plant ; and it cannot but be pleasant to observe its progress.

74. The Athenians, by abolishing the name of king, did not entirely subvert the regal authority : they established a perpetual magistrate, who, under the name of Archon, was invested with almost the same rights which their kings had enjoyed. The Athenians, in time, became sensible, that the archonic office was too lively an image of royalty for a free state.

75. After it had continued therefore three hundred and thirty-one years in the family of Codrus, they endeavored to lessen its dignity, not by abridging its power, but by shortening its duration. The first period assigned for the continuance of the archonship in the same hands, was three years. But the desire of the Athenians for a more perfect system of freedom than had hitherto been established, increased in proportion to the liberty they enjoyed.

76. They again called for a fresh reduction of the power of their archons ; and it was at length determined that nine annual magistrates should be appointed for this office.

These magistrates were not only chosen by the people, but accountable to them for their conduct at the expiration of their office.

77. These alterations were too violent not to be attended with some dangerous consequences. The Athenians, intoxicated with their freedom, broke out into the most unruly and licentious behavior.

78. No written laws had been as yet enacted in Athens, and it was hardly possible that the ancient customs of the realm, which were naturally supposed to be in part abolished by the successive changes in the government, should sufficiently restrain the tumultuary spirits of the Athenians, in the first flutter of their independence.

79. This engaged the wiser part of the state, who began to prefer any system of government to their present anarchy and confusion, to cast their eyes on Draco, a man of an austere but virtuous disposition, as the fittest person for composing a system of law, to bridle the furious and unruly manners of their countrymen.

80. Draco undertook the office about the year six hundred and twenty-eight, but executed it with so much rigor, that, in the words of an ancient historian, "His laws were written with blood, and not with ink." Death was the indiscriminate punishment of every offence, and the laws of Draco were found to be a remedy worse than the disease.

81. Affairs again returned into confusion and disorder, and remained so till the time of Solon, who died in the year before Christ five hundred and forty-nine. The gentle manners, disinterested virtue, and wisdom more than human, by which this sage was distinguished, pointed him out as the only character adapted to the most important of all offices, the giving laws to a free people.

82. Solon, though this employment was assigned him by the unanimous voice of his country, long deliberated whether he should undertake it. At length, however, the motives of public utility overcame all considerations of private ease, safety, and reputation, and determined him to enter an ocean pregnant with a thousand dangers.

83. The first step of his legislation was to abolish all the laws of Draco, excepting those relative to murder. The punishment of this crime could not be too great; but to

consider other offences as equally criminal, was to confound all notions of right and wrong, and to render the law ineffectual by means of its severity.

84. Solon next proceeded to new model the political law ; and his establishments on this head remained among the Athenians, while they preserved their liberties. He seems to have set out with this principle, that a perfect republic, in which each citizen should have an equal political importance, was a system of government, beautiful indeed in theory, but not reducible to practice.

85. He divided the citizens therefore into four classes, according to the wealth which they possessed, and the poorest class he rendered altogether incapable of any public office.

86. They had a voice, however, in the general council of the nation, in which all matters of principal concern were determined in the last resort. But lest this assembly, which was composed of all the citizens, should, in the words of Plutarch, like a ship with too many sails, be exposed to the gust of folly, tumult, and disorder, he provided for its safety by the two anchors of the senate and areopagus.

87. The first of these courts consisted of four hundred persons, a hundred out of each tribe of the Athenians, who prepared all important bills that came before the assembly of the people ; the second, though but a court of justice, gained a prodigious ascendancy in the republic, by the wisdom and gravity of its members, who were not chosen, but after the strictest scrutiny, and the most serious deliberation.

88. Such was the system of government established by Solon, which, the nearer we examine it, will afford the more matter for our admiration. On the same plan most of the other ancient republics were established. To insist on all of them, therefore, would neither be entertaining nor instructive.

89. But the government of Sparta, or Lacedæmon, had something in it so peculiar, that the great lines of it at least ought not to be omitted even in a delineation of this sort. Sparta, like the other states of Greece, was originally divided into a number of petty principalities, of which each was under the jurisdiction of its own immediate chieftain. Lellex is said to be the first king, about the year before Christ one thousand five hundred and sixteen.

90. At length, the two brothers Euristhenes and Procles, getting possession of this country, became conjunct in the royalty ; and, what is extremely singular, their posterity, in the direct line, continued to rule conjunctly for nine hundred years, ending with Cleomenes, in the year two hundred and twenty before the christian æra.

91. The Spartan government, however, did not take that singular form which renders it so remarkable, till the time of Lycurgus, the celebrated legislator. The plan of policy devised by Lycurgus, agreed with that already described in comprehending a senate and assembly of the people, and in general in all those establishments which are deemed most requisite for the security of political independence.

92. It differed from that of Athens, and indeed from all other governments, in having two kings, whose office was hereditary, though their power was sufficiently circumscribed by proper checks and restraints. But the great characteristic of the Spartan constitution arose from this, that in all laws, Lycurgus had at least as much respect to war as to political liberty.

93. With this view, all sorts of luxury, all arts of elegance or entertainment, every thing, in short, which had the smallest tendency to soften the minds of the Spartans, was absolutely proscribed.

94. They were forbidden the use of money, they lived at public tables on the coarsest fare, the younger were taught to pay the utmost reverence to the more advanced in years, and all ranks, capable to bear arms, were daily accustomed to the most painful exercises.

95. To the Spartans alone war was a relaxation rather than a hardship, and they behaved in it with a spirit of which hardly any but a Spartan could even form a conception.

96. In order to see the effect of these principles, and to connect under one point of view the history of the different quarters of the globe, we must now cast our eyes on Asia, and observe the events which happened in those great empires, of which we have so long lost sight.

97. We have already mentioned in what obscurity the history of Egypt is involved, till the reign of Bocchoris.

From this period, to the dissolution of their government by Cambyfes of Persia, in the year before Christ five hundred and twenty-four, the Egyptians are more celebrated for the wisdom of their laws, and political institutions, than for the power of their arms.

98. Several of these seem to have been dictated by the true spirit of civil wisdom, and were admirably calculated for preserving order and good government in an extensive kingdom. The great empire of Assyria likewise, which had so long disappeared, becomes again an object of attention, and affords the first instance we meet with in history, of a kingdom which fell asunder by its own weight, and the effeminate weakness of its sovereigns.

99. Sardanapalus, the last emperor of Assyria, neglecting the administration of affairs, and shutting himself in his palace with his women and eunuchs, fell into contempt with his subjects. The governors of his provinces, to whom like a weak and indolent prince, he had entirely committed the command of his armies, did not fail to lay hold of this opportunity of raising their own fortune on the ruins of their master's power. ♦

100. Arbaces governor of Media, and Belesis governor of Babylon, conspire against their sovereign, set fire to his capital, in which Sardanapalus perished, before Christ eight hundred and twenty, and divide between them his extensive dominions. These two kingdoms, sometimes united under one prince, and sometimes governed each by a particular sovereign, maintained the chief sway of Asia for many years.

101. Phul revived the kingdom of Assyria before Christ seven hundred and seventy-seven, and Shalmanezzer, one of his successors, put an end to the kingdom of Israel, and carried the ten tribes captive into Assyria and Media, before Christ seven hundred and twenty-one. Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon also, in the year before Christ five hundred and eighty-seven, overturned the kingdom of Judah, which had continued in the family of David from the year one thousand and fifty-five, and mastered all the countries around him.

102. But in the year five hundred and thirty-eight, Cyrus the great took Babylon, and reduced this quarter of the

world under the Persian yoke. The manners of this people as brave, hardy, and independent, as well as the government of Cyrus, in all its various departments, are elegantly described by Xenophon, a Grecian philosopher and historian.

103. It is not necessary, however, that we should enter on the same detail on this subject, as with regard to the affairs of the Greeks. We have, in modern times, sufficient examples of monarchical governments : but how few are our republics ?

104. But the æra of Cyrus is in one respect extremely remarkable ; beside delivering the Jews from their captivity, because, with it the history of the great nations of antiquity, which has hitherto engaged our attention, may be supposed to finish. Let us consider then the genius of the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Egyptians, in arts and sciences ; and if possible, discover what progress they had made in those acquirements, which are most subservient to the interests of society.

105. The taste for the great and magnificent, seems to have been the prevailing character of these nations ; and they principally displayed it in their works of architecture. There are no vestiges, however, now remaining, which confirm the testimony of ancient writers, with regard to the great works which adorned Babylon and Nineveh : neither is it clearly determined in what year they were begun or finished.

106. There are three pyramids, stupendous fabrics, still remaining in Egypt, at some leagues distance from Cairo, and about nine miles from the Nile, which are supposed to have been the burying places of the ancient Egyptian kings. The largest is five hundred feet in height, and two thousand six hundred and forty broad each way at bottom. The apex is thirteen feet square. The second stands on as much ground as the first, but is forty feet lower.

107. It was a superstition among this people, derived from the earliest times, that even after death the soul continued in the body as long as it remained uncorrupted. Hence proceeded the custom of embalming, or of throwing into the dead body such vegetables as experience had discovered to be the greatest preservatives against putrefaction.

108. The pyramids were erected with the same view. In them the bodies of the Egyptian kings were concealed. This expedient, together with embalming, as these superstitious monarchs conceived, would inevitably secure a safe and comfortable retreat for their souls after death.

109. From what we read of the walls of Babylon, the temple of Belus, and other works of the east, and from what travellers have recorded of the pyramids, it appears that they were really superb and magnificent structures, but totally void of elegance. The orders of architecture were not yet known, nor even the constructing of vaults.

110. The arts, in which these nations, next to architecture, principally excelled, were sculpture and embroidery. As to the sciences, they had all along continued to bestow their principal attention on astronomy. It does not appear, however, that they made great progress in explaining the causes of the phenomena of the universe, or indeed in any species of rational and sound philosophy.

111. To demonstrate this to an intelligent reader, it is sufficient to observe, that, according to the testimony of sacred and profane writers, the absurd reveries of magic and astrology, which always decrease in proportion to the advancement of true science, were in high esteem among them, during the latest period of their government.

112. The countries which they occupied were extremely fruitful, and afforded without much labor all the necessaries, and even luxuries of life. They had long been accustomed to a civilized and polished life in great cities. These circumstances had tainted their manners with effeminacy and corruption, and rendered them an easy prey to the Persians, a nation just emerging from barbarism, and of consequence brave and warlike.

113. This was still more easy in the infancy of the military art : when strength and courage were the only circumstances which gave the advantage to one nation over another ; when, properly speaking, there were no fortified places, which in modern times have been discovered to be so useful in stopping the progress of a victorious enemy ; and when the event of a battle commonly decided the fate of an empire. But we must now turn our attention to other objects.

114. The history of Persia, after the reign of Cyrus,

who died in the year before Christ five hundred and twenty-nine, offers little, considered in itself, that merits our regard : but when combined with that of Greece, it becomes particularly interesting. The monarchs who succeeded Cyrus, gave an opportunity to the Greeks to exercise those virtues, which the freedom of their government had created and confirmed.

115. Sparta remained under the influence of Lycurgus' institutions : Athens had just recovered from the tyranny of the Pisistratidæ, a family who had trampled on the laws of Solon, and usurped the supreme power. Such was their situation, when the lust of universal empire, which seldom fails to torment the breast of tyrants, led Darius (at the instigation of Hippias, who had been expelled from Athens, and on account of the Athenians burning the city of Sardis,) to send forth his numerous armies into Greece.

116. But the Persians were no longer those invincible soldiers, who, under Cyrus, had conquered Asia. Their minds were enervated by luxury and servitude. Athens, on the contrary, teemed with great men, whose minds were nobly animated by the late recovery of their freedom. Miltiades, in the plains of Marathon, with ten thousand Athenians, overcame the Persian army of a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand cavalry.

117. His countrymen, Themistocles and Aristides, the first celebrated for his abilities, the second for his virtue, gained the next honors to the general. It does not fall within our plan to mention the events of this war, which, as the noblest monuments of virtue over force, of courage over numbers, of liberty over servitude, deserve to be read at length in ancient writers.

118. Xerxes, the son of Darius, came in person into Greece, with an immense army, which, according to Herodotus, amounted to two millions and one hundred thousand men. This account has been justly considered, by some ingenious modern writers, as incredible.

119. The truth cannot now be ascertained : but that the army of Xerxes was extremely numerous, is the more probable, from the great extent of his empire, and from the absurd practice of the eastern nations, of encumbering their camp with a superfluous multitude.

120. Whatever the numbers of his army were, he was every where defeated, by sea and land, and escaped to Asia in a fishing boat. Such was the spirit of the Greeks, and so well did they know that "wanting virtue, life is pain and woe ; that wanting liberty, even virtue mourns, and looks around for happiness in vain."

121. But though the Persian war concluded gloriously for the Greeks, it is, in a great measure, to this war, that the subsequent misfortunes of that nation are to be attributed. It was not the battles in which they suffered the loss of so many brave men, but those in which they acquired an immensity of Persian gold ;

122. It was not their enduring so many hardships in the course of the war, but their connection with the Persians, after the conclusion of it, which subverted the Grecian establishments, and ruined the most virtuous confederacy that ever existed on earth.

123. The Greeks became haughty after their victories : delivered from the common enemy, they began to quarrel with one another : their quarrels were fomented by Persian gold, of which they had acquired enough to make them desirous of more. Hence proceeded the famous Peloponnesian war, in which the Athenians and Lacedæmonians acted as principals, and drew after them the other states of Greece.

124. They continued to weaken themselves by these intestine divisions, till Philip king of Macedon (a country till this time little known, but which, by the active and crafty genius of this prince, became important and powerful,) rendered himself the absolute master of Greece, by the battle of Cheronæa.

125. But this conquest is one of the first we meet in history which did not depend on the event of a battle. Philip had laid his schemes so deeply, and by bribery, promises, and intrigues, gained over such a number of considerable persons in the several states of Greece to his interest, that another day would have put in his possession what Cheronæa had denied him. The Greeks had lost that virtue, which was the basis of their confederacy.

126. Their popular governments served only to give a sanction to their licentiousness and corruption. The princi-

pal orators, in most of their states, were bribed into the service of Philip ; and all the eloquence of a Demosthenes, assisted by truth and virtue, was unequal to the mean, but more seductive arts of his opponents, who, by flattering the people, used the surest method of winning their affections.

127. Philip had proposed to extend the boundaries of his empire beyond the narrow limits of Greece. But he did not long survive the battle of Cheronæa. On his decease, his son Alexander was chosen general against the Persians, by all the Grecian states, except the Athenians and Thebans.

128. These made a feeble effort for expiring liberty. But they were obliged to yield to superior force. Secure on the side of Greece, Alexander set out on his Persian expedition, at the head of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse.

129. The success of this army in conquering the whole force of Darius, in three pitched battles, in over-running and subduing not only the countries then known to the Greeks, but many parts of India, the very names of which had never reached an European ear, has been described by many authors both ancient and modern, and constitutes a singular part of the history of the world.

130. Soon after this rapid career of victory and success, Alexander died at Babylon. His captains, after sacrificing all his family to their ambition, divided among them his dominions. This gives rise to a number of æras and events too complicated for our present purpose, and even too uninteresting.

131. After considering therefore the state of arts and sciences in Greece, we shall pass over to the Roman affairs, where the historical deduction is more simple, and also more important.

132. The bare names of illustrious men, who flourished in Greece from the time of Cyrus to that of Alexander, would fill a large volume. During this period, all the arts were carried to the highest pitch of perfection ; and the improvements we have hitherto mentioned, were but the dawnings of this glorious day.

133. Though the eastern nations had raised magnificent and stupendous structures, the Greeks were the first people

in the world, who, in their works of architecture, added beauty to magnificence, and elegance to grandeur. The temples of Jupiter Olympus, and the Ephesian Diana, are the first monuments of good taste.

134. They were erected by the Grecian colonies, who settled in Asia Minor, before the reign of Cyrus. Phidias, the Athenian, who died in the year before Christ four hundred and thirty-two, is the first sculptor whose works have been immortal. Zeuxis, Parrhasius, and Timantheus, during the same age, first discovered the power of the pencil, and all the magic of painting.

135. Composition, in all its various branches, reached a degree of perfection in the Greek language, of which a modern reader can hardly form an idea. After Hesiod and Homer, who flourished one thousand years before the christian æra, the tragic poets Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, were the first considerable improvers of poetry. Herodotus gave simplicity and elegance to prosaic writing.

136. Isocrates gave it cadence and harmony, but it was left to Thucydides and Demosthenes, to discover the full force of the Greek tongue. It was not however in the finer arts alone that the Greeks excelled. Every species of philosophy was cultivated among them with the utmost success.

137. Not to mention the divine Socrates, the virtue of whose life, and the excellence of whose philosophy, justly entitled him to a very high degree of veneration; his three disciples, Plato, Aristotle, and Xenophon, may, for strength of reasoning, justness of sentiment, and propriety of expression, be put on a footing with the writers of any age or country.

138. Experience, indeed, in a long course of years, has taught us many secrets in nature, with which these philosophers were unacquainted, and which no strength of genius could divine. But whatever some vain empirics in learning may pretend, the most learned and ingenious men, both in France and England, have acknowledged the superiority of the Greek philosophers; and have reckoned themselves happy in catching their turn of thinking, and manner of expression.

139. But the Greeks were not less distinguished for their active than for their speculative talents. It would be end-

less to recount the names of their famous statesmen and warriors, and it is impossible to mention a few without doing injustice to a greater number. War was first reduced into a science by the Greeks.

140. Their soldiers fought from an affection to their country, and an ardor for glory, and not from a dread of their superiors. We have seen the effect of this military virtue in their wars against the Persians : the cause of it was the wise laws which Amphictyon, Solon, and Lycurgus had established in Greece.

141. But we must now leave this nation, whose history, both civil and philosophical, is as important as their territory was inconsiderable, and turn our attention to the Roman affairs, which are still more interesting, both on their own account, and from the relation in which they stand to those of modern Europe.

142. The character of Romulus, the founder of the Roman state, when we view him as the leader of a few lawless and wandering banditti, is an object of extreme insignificance. But when we consider him as the founder of an empire as extensive as the world, and whose progress and decline have occasioned the two greatest revolutions that ever happened in Europe, we cannot help being interested in his conduct.

143. His disposition was extremely martial ; and the political state of Italy, divided into a number of small but independent districts, afforded a noble field for the display of military talents. Romulus was continually embroiled with one or other of his neighbors ; and war was the only employment by which he and his companions expected not only to aggrandize themselves, but even to subsist.

144. In the conduct of his wars with the neighboring people, we may observe the same maxims by which the Romans afterwards became masters of the world. Instead of destroying the nations he had subjected, he united them to the Roman state, whereby Rome acquired a new accession of strength from every war she undertook, and became powerful and populous from that very circumstance which ruins and depopulates other kingdoms.

145. If the enemies, with which he contended, had, by means of the art or arms they employed, any considerable

advantage, Romulus immediately adopted that practice, or the use of that weapon, and improved the military system of the Romans by the united experience of all their enemies.

146. We have an example of both these maxims, by means of which the Roman state arrived at such a pitch of grandeur, in the war with the Sabines. Romulus having conquered that nation, not only united them to the Romans, but finding their buckler preferable to the Roman, instantly threw aside the latter, and made use of the Sabine buckler in fighting against other states.

147. Romulus, though principally attached to war, did not altogether neglect the civil policy of his infant kingdom. He instituted what was called the senate, a court originally composed of a hundred persons, distinguished for their wisdom and experience.

148. He enacted laws for the administration of justice, and for bridling the fierce and unruly passions of his followers; and after a long reign spent in promoting the civil or military interests of his country, was, according to the most probable conjecture, privately assassinated by some of the members of that senate, which he himself had instituted.

149. The successors of Romulus were all very extraordinary personages. Numa, who came next to him, established the religious ceremonies of the Romans, and inspired them with that veneration for an oath, which was ever after the soul of their military discipline. Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Martius, Tarquinius Priscus, and Servius Tullus, labored each during his reign for the grandeur of Rome.

150. But Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh and last king, having obtained the crown by the execrable murder of his father-in-law Servius, continued to support it by the most cruel and infamous tyranny. This, together with the insolence of his son Sextus Tarquinius, who, by dishonoring Lucretia, a Roman lady, affronted the whole nation, occasioned the expulsion of the Tarquin family, and with it the dissolution of the regal government.

151. As the Romans, however, were continually engaged in war, they found it necessary to have some officer invested with supreme authority, who might conduct them to the field, and regulate their military enterprises. In the

room of these kings, therefore, they appointed two annual magistrates called consuls, who, without creating the same jealousy, succeeded to all the powers of their sovereigns.

152. This revolution was extremely favorable to the Roman grandeur. The consuls, who enjoyed but a temporary power, were desirous of signalizing their reign by some great action : each vied with those who had gone before him, and the Romans were daily led against some new enemy.

153. When we add to this, that the people, naturally warlike, were inspired to deeds of valor by every consideration which could excite them : that the citizens of Rome were all soldiers, and fought for their lands, their children, and their liberties, we need not be surprised, that they should, in the course of some centuries, extend their power all over Italy.

154. The Romans, now secure at home, and finding no enemy with whom to contend, turn their eyes abroad, and meet with a powerful rival in the Carthaginians. This state had been founded or enlarged on the coast of the Mediterranean in Africa, some time before Rome, by a colony of Phœnicians, in the year before Christ eight hundred and sixty-nine, and, according to the practice of their mother country, they had cultivated commerce and naval greatness.

155. Carthage, in this design, had proved wonderfully successful. She now commanded both sides of the Mediterranean. Besides that of Africa, which she almost entirely possessed, she had extended herself on the Spanish side, through the Streights. Thus mistress of the sea, and of commerce, she had seized the islands of Corsica and Sardinia.

156. Sicily had difficulty to defend itself ; and the Romans were too nearly threatened not to take arms. Hence a succession of hostilities between these rival states, known in history by the name of Punic wars, in which the Carthaginians, with all their wealth and power, were an unequal match for the Romans.

157. Carthage was a powerful republic, when Rome was an inconsiderable state ; but she was now become corrupt and effeminate, while Rome was in the vigor of her political constitution. Carthage employed mercenaries to

carry on her wars ; Rome, as we have already mentioned, was composed of soldiers.

158. The first war with Carthage lasted twenty-three years, and taught the Romans the art of fighting on the sea, with which they had been hitherto unacquainted. A Carthaginian vessel was wrecked on their coast ; they used it for a model, in three months fitted out a fleet, and the consul Duilius, who fought their first naval battle, was victorious. It is not to our purpose to mention all the transactions of these wars.

159. The behavior of Regulus, the Roman general, may give us an idea of the spirit which then animated this people. Being taken prisoner in Africa, he is sent back on his parole to negotiate a change of prisoners. He maintains in the senate, the propriety of that law, which cut off from those who suffered themselves to be taken, all hopes of being saved, and returns to a certain death.

160. Neither was Carthage, though corrupted, deficient in great men. Of all the enemies with whom the Romans ever had to contend, Hannibal the Carthaginian was the most inflexible and dangerous. His father Hamilcar had imbibed an extreme hatred against the Romans, and having settled the intestine troubles of his country, he took an early opportunity to inspire his son, though but nine years old, with his own sentiments.

161. For this purpose he ordered a solemn sacrifice to be offered to Jupiter, and leading his son to the altar, asked him whether he was willing to attend him in his expedition against the Romans ; the courageous boy not only consented to go, but conjured his father by the gods present, to form him to victory, and teach him the art of conquering.

162. That I will joyfully do, replied Hamilcar, and with all the care of a father who loves you, if you will swear on the altar to be an eternal enemy to the Romans. Hannibal readily complied ; and the solemnity of the ceremony, and the sacredness of the oath, made such an impression on his mind, as nothing afterwards could ever efface.

163. Being appointed general at twenty-five years of age, he crosses the Ebro, the Pyrennees, and the Alps, and in a moment falls on Italy. The loss of four battles threat-

ens the fall of Rome. Sicily sides with the conqueror. Hieronymus king of Syracuse declares against the Romans, and almost all Italy abandons them.

164. In this extremity, Rome owed its preservation to three great men. Fabius Maximus, despising popular clamor, and the military ardor of his countrymen, declines coming to an engagement. The strength of Rome has time to recover. Marcellus raises the siege of Nola, takes Syracuse, and revives the drooping spirits of his troops.

165. The Romans admired the character of these great men, but saw something more divine in young Scipio. The success of this young hero confirmed the popular opinion, that he was of divine extraction, and held converse with the gods. At the age of four-and-twenty, he flies into Spain, where both his father and uncle had lost their lives, attacks New Carthage, and carries it at the first assault.

166. On his arrival in Africa, kings submit to him, Carthage trembles in her turn, and sees her armies defeated. Hannibal, sixteen years victorious, is in vain called home to defend his country. Carthage is rendered tributary, gives hostages, and engages never to enter on a war, but with the consent of the Roman people.

167. After the conquest of Carthage, Rome had inconsiderable wars but great victories ; before this time its wars were great, and its victories inconsiderable. At this time the world was divided, as it were, into two parts : in the one fought the Romans and Carthaginians ; the other was agitated by those quarrels which had lasted since the death of Alexander the Great.

168. Their scene of action was Greece, Egypt, and the east. The states of Greece had once more disengaged themselves from a foreign yoke. They were divided into three confederacies, the Etolians, Achæans, and Beotian ; each of these was an association of free cities, which had assemblies and magistrates in common. The Etolians were the most considerable of them all.

169. The kings of Macedon maintained that superiority, which in ancient times, when the balance of power was little attended to, a great prince naturally possessed over his less powerful neighbors. Philip the present monarch, had rendered himself odious to the Greeks, by some unpopular

and tyrannical steps ; the Etolians were most irritated ; and hearing the fame of the Roman arms, called them into Greece, and overcame Philip by their assistance.

170. The victory, however, chiefly redounded to the advantage of the Romans. The Macedonian garrisons were obliged to evacuate Greece ; the cities were all declared free ; but Philip became a tributary to the Romans, and the states of Greece became their dependents. The Etolians discovering their first error, endeavored to remedy it by another still more dangerous to themselves, and more advantageous to the Romans.

171. As they had called the Romans into Greece to defend them against king Philip, they now called in Antiochus, king of Syria, to defend them against the Romans. The famous Hannibal too had recourse to the same prince, who was at this time the most powerful monarch in the east, and the successor to the dominions of Alexander in Asia.

172. But Antiochus did not follow his advice so much as that of the Etolians ; for, instead of renewing the war in Italy, where Hannibal, from experience, judged the Romans to be most vulnerable, he landed in Greece with a small body of troops, and being overcome without difficulty, fled into Asia.

173. In this war the Romans made use of Philip for conquering Antiochus, as they had before done of the Etolians for conquering Philip. They now pursue Antiochus, the last object of their resentment, into Asia, and having vanquished him by sea and land, compel him to submit to an infamous treaty.

174. In these conquests the Romans still allowed the ancient inhabitants to possess their territory ; they did not even change the form of government ; the conquered nations became the allies of the Roman people, which denomination however, under a specious name, concealed a condition very servile, and inferred, that they should submit to whatever was required of them.

175. When we reflect on these easy conquests, we have reason to be astonished at the resistance with which the Romans met from Mithridates king of Pontus, for the space of twenty-six years. But this monarch had great resources. His kingdom bordering on the inaccessible mountains of

Caucasus, abounded in a race of men, whose minds were not enervated by pleasure, and whose bodies were firm and vigorous, and he gave the Romans more trouble than even Hannibal.

176. The different states of Greece and Asia, who now began to feel the weight of their yoke, but had not a spirit to shake it off, were transported at finding a prince, who dared to shew himself an enemy to the Romans, and cheerfully submitted to his protection. Mithridates, however, at last was compelled to yield to the superior fortune of the Romans.

177. Vanquished successively by Sylla and Lucullus, he was at length subdued by Pompey, and stripped of his dominions and of his life, in the year before Christ sixty-three. In Africa the Roman arms met with equal success. Marius, in conquering Jugurtha, made all secure in that quarter. Even the barbarous nations beyond the Alps, began to feel the weight of the Roman arms. Gallia Narbonensis had been reduced into a province.

178. The Cimbri, Teutones, and other northern nations of Europe, broke into this part of the empire. The same Marius, whose name was so terrible in Africa, then made the north of Europe to tremble. The Barbarians retired to their wilds and desarts, less formidable than the Roman legions. But while Rome conquered the world, there subsisted an internal war within her walls.

179. This war had subsisted from the first periods of the government. Rome, after the expulsion of her kings, enjoyed but a partial liberty. The descendants of the senators, who were distinguished by the name of patricians, were invested with so many odious privileges, that the people felt their dependance, and became determined to shake it off. A thousand disputes on this subject arose betwixt them and the patricians, which always terminated in favor of liberty.

180. These disputes, while the Romans preserved their virtue, were not attended with any dangerous consequences. The patricians, who loved their country, cheerfully parted with some of their privileges to satisfy the people; and the people, on the other hand, though they obtained laws, by which they might be admitted to enjoy the first offices of

the state, and though they had the power of nomination, always named patricians.

181. But when the Romans, by the conquest of foreign nations, became acquainted with all their luxuries and refinements ; when they became tainted with the effeminacy and corruption of the eastern courts, and sported with every thing just and honorable, in order to obtain them, the state, torn by the factions between its members, and without virtue on either side to keep it together, became a prey to its own children.

182. Hence the bloody seditions of the Gracchi, which paved the way for an extinguishable hatred between the nobles and commons, and made it easy for any turbulent demagogue to put them in action against each other. The love of their country was now no more than a specious name ; the better sort were too wealthy and effeminate to submit to the rigors of military discipline, and the soldiers, composed of the dregs of the republic, were no longer citizens.

183. They had little respect for any but their commander ; under his banner, they fought, and conquered, and plundered ; and for him they were ready to die. He might command them to embrue their hands in the blood of their country. They who knew no country but the camp, and no authority but that of their general, were ever ready to obey him.

184. The multiplicity of the Roman conquests, however, which required their keeping on foot several armies at the same time, retarded the subversion of the republic. These armies were so many checks on each other. Had it not been for the soldiers of Sylla, Rome would have surrendered its liberty to the army of Marius.

185. Julius Cæsar at length appears. By subduing the Gauls, he gained his country the most useful conquest it ever made. Pompey, his own rival, is overcome in the plains of Pharsalia. Cæsar appears victorious almost at the same time all over the world : in Egypt, in Asia, in Mauritania, in Spain, in Gaul, and in Britain : conqueror on all sides, he is acknowledged master at Rome, and in the whole empire.

186. Brutus and Cassius think to give Rome her liberty, by stabbing him in the senate-house. But though they thereby deliver the Romans from the tyranny of Julius, the re-

public does not obtain its freedom. It falls into the hands of Mark Anthony ; young Cæsar Octavianus, nephew to Julius Cæsar, wrests it from him by the sea-fight of Actium, and there is no Brutus or Cassius to put an end to his life.

187. Those friends of liberty had killed themselves in despair ; and Octavius, under the name of Augustus, and title of emperor, remained the undisturbed master of the empire. During these civil commotions, the Romans still preserved the glory of their arms among distant nations ; and, while it was unknown who should be master at Rome, the Romans were without dispute, the masters of the world.

188. Their military discipline and valor abolished all the remains of the Carthaginian, the Persian, the Greek, the Assyrian, and Macedonian glory ; they were now only a name. No sooner, therefore, was Octavius established on the throne, than ambassadors from all quarters of the known world, crowd to make their submissions.

189. Æthiopia sues for peace ; the Parthians, who had been a most formidable enemy, court his friendship ; India seeks his alliance ; Pannonia acknowledges him ; Germany dreads him ; and the Weser receives his laws. Victorious by sea and land, he shuts the temple of Janus. The whole earth lives in peace under his power, and Jesus Christ comes into the world, four years before the common æra.

190. Having thus traced the progress of the Roman government, while it remained a republic, our plan obliges us to say a few words with regard to the arts, sciences, and manners of that people. During the first ages of the republic, the Romans lived in a total neglect, or rather contempt, of all the elegant improvements of life.

191. War, politics, and agriculture, were the only arts they studied, because they were the only arts they esteemed. But on the downfall of Carthage, the Romans having no enemy to dread from abroad, began to taste the sweets of security, and to cultivate the arts. Their progress, however, was not gradual, as in the other countries we have described.

192. The conquest of Greece at once put them in possession of every thing most rare, curious, or elegant. Asia, which was the next victim, offered all its stores ; and the Romans, from the most simple people, speedily became ac-

quainted with the arts, the luxuries and refinements of the whole earth.

193. Eloquence they had always cultivated as the high road to eminence and preferment. The orations of Cicero are inferior only to those of Demosthenes. In poetry Virgil yields only to Homer, whose verse, like the prose of Demosthenes, may be considered as inimitable.

194. Horace, however, in his satires and epistles, had no model among the Greeks, and stands to this day unrivalled in that species of writing. In history, the Romans can boast of Livy, who possesses all the natural ease of Herodotus, and is more descriptive, more eloquent, and sentimental.

195. Tacitus indeed did not flourish in the Augustan age, but his works do himself the greatest honor, while they disgrace his country and human nature, whose corruption and vices he paints in the most striking colors. In philosophy, if we except the works of Cicero, and the system of the Greek philosopher Epicurus, described in the nervous poetry of Lucretius, the Romans, during the time of the republic, made not the least attempt.

196. In tragedy, they never produced any thing excellent; and Terence, though remarkable for purity of style, wants that lively vein of humor, that distinguishes the Greek comedians, and which distinguishes our Shakespeare.

197. We now return to our history, and are arrived at an æra, which presents us with a set of monsters, under the name of emperors, whose histories, a few excepted, disgrace human nature. They did not indeed abolish the forms of the Roman republic, though they extinguished its liberties; and, while they were practising the most unwarrantable cruelties on their subjects, they themselves were the slaves of their soldiers.

198. They made the world tremble, while they in their turn trembled at the army. Rome, from the time of Augustus, became the most despotic empire that ever subsisted in Europe. To form an idea of their government, we need only recal to our mind the situation of Turkey at present.

199. It is of no importance therefore to consider the character of the emperors, since they had no power but what arose from a mercenary standing army; nor to enter into a detail with regard to the transactions of the court,

which were directed with that caprice, and cruelty, and corruption, which universally prevailed under a despotic government.

200. When it is said the Roman republic conquered the world, it is only meant of the civilized part of it, chiefly in Greece, Carthage, and Asia. A more difficult task still remained for the emperors, to subdue the barbarous nations of Europe; the Germans, the Gauls, the Britons, and even the remote corner of Scotland: for though these countries had been discovered, they were not effectually subdued by the Roman generals.

201. These nations though rude and ignorant were brave and independent. It was rather from the superiority of their discipline, than of their courage, that the Romans gained any advantage over them. The Roman wars with the Germans are described by Tacitus; and from his accounts, though a Roman, it is easy to discover with what bravery they fought, and with what reluctance they submitted to a foreign yoke.

202. From the obstinate resistance of the Germans, we may judge of the difficulties the Romans met in subduing the other nations of Europe. The contests were on both sides bloody; the countries of Europe were successively laid waste, the inhabitants perished in the field, many were carried into slavery, and but a feeble remnant submitted to the Roman power.

203. This situation of affairs was extremely unfavorable to the happiness of mankind. The barbarous nations, indeed, from their intercourse with the Romans, acquired some taste for the arts, sciences, language and manners of their new masters.

204. These however were but miserable consolations for the loss of liberty, for being deprived of the use of their arms, for being over-awed by mercenary soldiers kept in pay to restrain them, and for being delivered over to rapacious governors, who plundered them without mercy. The only circumstance which could support them under these complicated calamities, was the hope of seeing better days.

205. The Roman empire, now stretched to such an extent, had lost its spring and force. It contained within itself the seeds of dissolution; and the violent irruption of

the Goths, Vandals, Huns, and other barbarians, hastened its destruction.

206. These fierce tribes, who came to take vengeance on the empire, either inhabited the various parts of Germany, which had never been subdued by the Romans, or were scattered over the vast countries of the north of Europe, and north-west of Asia, which are now inhabited by the Danes, the Swedes, the Poles, the subjects of the Russian empire, and the Tartars.

207. They were drawn from their native country by that restlessness which actuates the minds of barbarians, and makes them rove from home in quest of plunder, or new settlements. The first invaders met a powerful resistance from the superior discipline of the Roman legions ; but this, instead of daunting men of a strong and impetuous temper, only roused them to vengeance.

208. They return to their companions, acquaint them with the unknown conveniencies and luxuries that abounded in countries better cultivated, or blessed with a milder climate than their own ; they acquaint them with the battles they had fought, of the friends they had lost, and warm them with resentment against their opponents.

209. Great bodies of armed men (says an elegant historian, in describing this scene of desolation) with their wives and children, and slaves and flocks, issued, like regular colonies, in quest of new settlements. New adventurers followed them.

210. The lands which they deserted were occupied by more remote tribes of barbarians. These, in their turn, pushed forward into more fertile countries, and, like a torrent continually increasing, rolled on, and swept every thing before them. Wherever the barbarians marched, their route was marked with blood. They ravaged or destroyed all around them. They made no distinction between what was sacred, and what was profane. They respected no age, or sex, or rank.

211. If a man was called to fix on the period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most calamitous and afflicted, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Theodosius the great, in the year of our Lord three hun-

dred and ninety-five, to the establishment of the Lombards in Italy, in the year of our Lord five hundred and seventy-one.

212. The cotemporary authors, who beheld that scene of desolation, labor and are at a loss for expressions to describe the horror of it. *The scourge of God, the destroyer of nations*, are the dreadful epithets by which they distinguish the most noted of the barbarous leaders.

213. Constantine, who was emperor the beginning of the fourth century, and who had embraced christianity, changed the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople. This occasioned a prodigious alteration. The western and eastern provinces were separated from each other, and governed by different sovereigns. The withdrawing the Roman legions from the Rhine and the Danube to the east, threw down the western barriers of the empire, and laid it open to the invaders.

214. Rome (now known by the name of the Western Empire, in contradistinction to Constantinople, which, from its situation, was called the Eastern Empire), weakened by this division, becomes a prey to the barbarous nations. Its ancient glory, vainly deemed immortal, is effaced, and Odoacer, a barbarian chieftain, is seated on the throne of the Cæsars. These irruptions into the empire were gradual and successive.

215. The immense fabric of the Roman empire was the work of many ages, and several centuries were employed in demolishing it. The ancient discipline of the Romans, in military affairs, was so efficacious, that the remains of it descended to their successors, and must have proved an overmatch for all their enemies, had it not been for the vices of their emperors, and the universal corruption of manners among the people.

216. Satiated with the luxuries of the known world, the emperors were at a loss to find new provocatives. The most distant regions were explored, the ingenuity of mankind was exercised, and the tribute of provinces expended on one favorite dish. The tyranny, and the universal depravation of manners that prevailed under the emperors, or, as they are called, Cæsars, could only be equalled by the barbarity of those nations who overcame them.

217. Towards the close of the sixth century, the Saxons,

a German nation, were masters of the southern and more fertile provinces of Britain ; the Franks, another tribe of Germans, of Gaul ; the Goths, of Spain ; the Goths and Lombards, of Italy, and the adjacent provinces.

218. Scarcely any vestige of the Roman policy, jurisprudence, arts, or literature remained. New forms of government, new laws, new manners, new dresses, new languages, and new names of men and countries, were every where introduced.

219. From this period, till the sixteenth century, Europe exhibited a picture of most melancholy Gothic barbarity. Literature, science, taste, were words scarcely in use during these ages. Persons of the highest rank, and in the most eminent stations, could not read or write. Many of the clergy did not understand the breviary which they were obliged daily to recite : some of them could scarcely read it.

220. The human mind neglected, uncultivated, and depressed, sunk into the most profound ignorance. The superior genius of Charlemagne, who, in the beginning of the ninth century, governed France and Germany with part of Italy ; and Alfred the great in England, during the latter part of the same century, endeavored to dispel this darkness, and give their subjects a short glimpse of light.

221. But the ignorance of the age was too powerful for their efforts and institutions. The darkness returned, and even increased ; so that a still greater degree of ignorance and barbarism prevailed throughout Europe.

222. A new division of property gradually introduced a new species of government formerly unknown ; which singular institution is now distinguished by the name of the *feudal system*. The king or general, who led the barbarians to conquest, parcelled out the lands of the vanquished among his chief officers, binding those on whom they were bestowed to follow his standard with a number of men, and to bear arms in his defence.

223. The chief officers imitated the example of the sovereign, and in distributing portions of their lands among their dependants, annexed the same condition to the grant. But though this system seemed to be admirably calculated for defence against a foreign enemy, it degenerated into a system of oppression.

224. The usurpation of the nobles became unbounded

and intolerable. They reduced the great body of the people into a state of actual servitude. They were deprived of the natural and most unalienable rights of humanity. They were slaves fixed to the soil which they cultivated, and together with it were transferred from one proprietor to another, by sale or by conveyance.

225. Every offended baron, or chieftain, buckled on his armor, and sought redress at the head of his vassals. His adversaries met him in like hostile array. The kindred and dependants of the aggressor, as well as of the defender, were involved in the quarrel. They had not even the liberty of remaining neuter.

226. The monarchs of Europe perceived the encroachments of their nobles with impatience. In order to create some power that might counterbalance those potent vassals, who, while they enslaved the people, controlled or gave law to the crown, a plan was adopted of conferring new privileges on towns. These privileges abolished all marks of servitude ; and the inhabitants of towns were formed into corporations, or bodies politic, to be governed by a council and magistrates of their own nomination.

227. The acquisition of liberty made such a happy change in the condition of mankind, as roused them from that stupidity and inaction into which they had been sunk by the wretchedness of their former state. A spirit of industry revived ; commerce became an object of attention, and began to flourish.

228. Various causes contributed to revive this spirit of commerce, and to renew the intercourse between different nations. Constantinople, the capital of the eastern or Greek empire, had escaped the ravages of the Goths and Vandals, who overthrew that of the west.

229. In this city, some remains of literature and science were preserved : this too, for many ages, was the great emporium of trade, and where some relish for the precious commodities and curious manufactures of India was retained. They communicated some knowledge of these to their neighbors in Italy ; and the crusades which were begun by the christian powers of Europe with a view to drive the Saracens from Jerusalem, opened a communication between Europe and the east.

230. Constantinople was the general place of rendezvous

for the christian armies, in their way to Palestine, or on their return from thence. Though the object of these expeditions was conquest, and not commerce, and though the issue of them proved unfortunate, their commercial effects were both beneficial and permanent.

231. Soon after the close of the holy war, the mariners compass was invented, which facilitated the communication between remote nations, and brought them nearer to each other. The Italian states, particularly those of Venice and Genoa, began to establish a regular commerce with the east, and the ports of Egypt, and drew from thence all the rich productions of India.

232. These commodities they disposed of to great advantage among the other nations of Europe, who began to acquire some taste of elegance, unknown to their predecessors, or despised by them. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the commerce of Europe was almost entirely in the hands of the Italians, more commonly known in those ages by the name of Lombards.

233. Companies, or societies of Lombard merchants, settled in every different kingdom; they became the carriers, the manufacturers, and the bankers of Europe. One of these companies settled in London, and from hence the name of Lombard Street was derived.

234. While the Italians in the south of Europe cultivated trade with such industry and success, the commercial spirit awakened in the north towards the middle of the thirteenth century. As the Danes, Swedes, and other nations around the Baltic, were at that time extremely barbarous, and infested that sea with their piracies, this obliged the cities of Lubec and Hamburg, soon after they had begun to open some trade with the Italians, to enter into a league of mutual defence.

235. They derived such advantages from this union, that other towns acceded to their confederacy; and, in a short time, eighty of the most considerable cities, scattered through those large countries of Germany and Flanders, which stretch from the bottom of the Baltic to Cologne on the Rhine, joined in an alliance, called the *Hanseatic league*;

236. Which became so formidable, that its alliance was courted, and its enmity was dreaded by the greatest monarchs. The members of this powerful association formed

the first systematic plan of commerce known in the middle ages, and conducted it by common laws enacted in their general assemblies.

237. They supplied the rest of Europe with naval stores ; and pitched on different towns, the most eminent of which was Bruges, in Flanders, where they established staples, in which their commerce was regularly carried on. Thither the Lombards brought the productions of India, together with the manufactures of Italy, and exchanged them for the more bulky, but not less useful commodities of the north.

238. As Bruges became the centre of communication between the Lombards and Hanseatic merchants, the Flemings traded with both in that city to such extent, as well as advantage, as diffused among them a general habit of industry, which long rendered Flanders and the adjacent provinces the most opulent, the most populous, and best cultivated countries in Europe.

239. Struck with the flourishing state of these provinces, of which he discovered the true cause, Edward third, of England, endeavored to excite a spirit of industry among his own subjects, who, blind to the advantages of their situation, and ignorant of the source from which opulence was destined to flow into their country, totally neglected commerce, and did not even attempt those manufactures, the materials of which they furnished to foreigners.

240. By alluring Flemish artisans to settle in his dominions, as well as by many wise laws for the encouragement and regulation of trade, he gave a beginning to the woollen manufactures of England ; and first turned the active and enterprising genius of his people towards those arts which have raised the English to the first rank among commercial nations.

241. The christian princes, after their great losses in the crusades, endeavored to cultivate the friendship of the great khans of Tartary, whose fame in arms had reached the most remote corners of Europe and Asia, that they might be some check on the Turks, who had been such enemies to the christian name ; and who, from a contemptible handful of wanderers, serving occasionally in the armies of contending princes, had begun to extend their ravages over the finest countries of Asia.

242. The christian embassies were managed chiefly by monks, a wandering profession of men, who, impelled by zeal, and undaunted by difficulties and danger, found their way to the remote courts of these infidels. The English philosopher Roger Bacon, was so industrious as to collect from their relations, or traditions, many particulars of the Tartars, which are to be found in Purchas' Pilgrim, and other books of travels.

243. The first regular traveller of the monkish kind, who committed his discoveries to writing, was John du Plant Carpin, who, with some of his brethren, about the year one thousand two hundred and forty-six, carried a letter from pope Innocent to the great khan of Tartary, in favor of the christian subjects in that prince's extensive dominions.

244. Soon after this, a spirit of travelling into Tartary and India became general ; and it would be no difficult matter to prove that many Europeans, about the end of the fourteenth century, served in the armies of Tamerlane, one of the greatest princes of Tartary, whose conquests reached to the most remote corners of India ; and that they introduced into Europe the use of gun-powder and artillery ; the discovery made by a German chemist being only partial and accidental.

245. After the death of Tamerlane, who, jealous of the rising power of the Turks, had checked their progress, the christian adventurers, on their return, magnifying the vast riches of the East-Indies, inspired their countrymen with a spirit of adventure and discovery, and were the first that rendered a passage thither by sea probable and practicable. The Portuguese had been always famous for their application to maritime affairs ; and to their discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, Great Britain is at this day indebted for her Indian commerce.

246. At first they contented themselves with short voyages, creeping along the coast of Africa, discovering cape after cape ; but by making a gradual progress southward, they, in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-seven, were so fortunate as to sail beyond the cape, which opened a passage by sea to the eastern ocean, and all those countries known by the names of India, China, and Japan.

247. While the Portuguese were intent on a passage to India by the east, Columbus, a native of Genoa, conceived

a project of sailing thither by the west. His proposal being condemned by his countrymen as chimerical and absurd, he laid his schemes successively before the courts of France, England, and Portugal, where he had no better success.

248. Such repeated disappointments would have broken the spirit of any man but Columbus. The expedition required expense, and he had nothing to defray it. Spain was now his only resource ; and there, after eight years attendance, he at length succeeded, through the interest of queen Isabella. This princess was prevailed on to patronize him, by the representations of Juan Perez, guardian of the monastery of Rabida.

249. He was a man of considerable learning, and of some credit with queen Isabella ; and being warmly attached to Columbus, from his personal acquaintance with him, and knowledge of his merit, he had entered into an accurate examination of that great man's project, in conjunction with a physician settled in his neighborhood, who was eminent for his skill in mathematical knowledge.

250. This investigation completely satisfied them of the solidity of the principles on which Columbus founded his opinion, and of the probability of success in executing the plan which he proposed. Perez therefore so strongly recommended it to queen Isabella, that she entirely entered into the scheme, and even generously offered, to the honor of her sex, to pledge her own jewels in order to raise as much money as might be required in making preparations for the voyage.

251. But Santagel, another friend and patron of Columbus, immediately engaged to advance the sum that was requisite, that the queen might not be reduced to the necessity of having recourse to that expedient.

252. Columbus now set sail, in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, with a fleet of three ships, on one of the most adventurous attempts ever undertaken by man, and in the fate of which the inhabitants of two worlds were interested.

253. In this voyage he had a thousand difficulties with which to contend ; and his sailors, who were often discontented, at length began to insist on his return, threatening, in case of refusal, to throw him overboard ; but the firm-

ness of the commander, and the discovery of land, after a passage of thirty-three days, put an end to the commotion.

254. From the appearance of the natives, he found to his surprise that this could not be the Indies of which he was in quest, and which he soon discovered to be a new world. Europe now began to emerge out of that darkness into which she had been sunk since the subversion of the Roman empire.

255. These discoveries, from which such wealth was destined to flow to the commercial nations of Europe, were succeeded by others of unspeakable benefit to mankind. The invention of printing, the revival of learning, arts and sciences ; and, lastly, the happy reformation in religion, all distinguish the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as the first æra of modern history.

256. " It was in these ages that the powers of Europe were formed into one great political system, in which each took a station, wherein it has since remained, with less variation than could have been expected, after the shocks occasioned by so many internal revolutions, and so many foreign wars.

257. The political principles and maxims then established, still continue to operate ; and the ideas concerning the balance of power then introduced, or rendered general, still influence, in some degree, the councils of European nations."

258. From all which it seems extremely certain, that the concurrence of so many rival princes will always prevent any one of them from gaining the empire over Europe. But it is no less certain, that, in contending for it, they must weaken their own force, and may at length render themselves incapable of defending even their just possessions.

259. The partial conquests they may make are extremely illusive ; instead of promoting, they rather oppose their designs ; the more any kingdom is extended, it becomes the weaker ; and great projects have not been so often executed by slow reiterated efforts, as in the course of a few years, and sometimes by a single expedition.

260. A prince may form a deliberate plan of destroying the rights of his subjects ; he may proceed by slow degrees in the execution of it, and if he die before it is completed, his successor may pursue the same steps, and avail himself of what was done before him. But external conquests cannot be concealed ; they generally occasion more fear than hurt, and are almost always less solid than brilliant.

261. Hence the alarms they excite, the confederacies to which they give occasion, by which the prince who, by misfortune, has been a conqueror, is commonly reduced to the last extremities. This doctrine, however contrary to the prejudices of a powerful and victorious nation, is one of the best established in the science of politics. It is confirmed by examples both ancient and modern.

262. The states of Greece, in particular, delivered from the terror of the Persian invasions, exhibit the same truth in a great variety of lights. There was not one of the most inconsiderable of these little societies, but in its turn imbibed the frenzy of conquest, and in its turn too was reduced by this frenzy to the utmost misery and distress. The modern examples are so well known, that it is almost unnecessary to mention them.

263. Who does not know that the house of Austria excited the terror of all Europe, before it excited the pity of Great Britain ! Had that family never been the object of fear, the empress queen would never have become the object of compassion. France affords an example not less striking.

264. The nerves of that kingdom were strained so far beyond their strength, by an ambitious monarch, that it seemed hardly possible they should acquire their natural tone in the course of this century. The debility of their efforts in the war of one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six proved the greatness of the evil, and the inefficacy of any remedy which is not slow and gradual : but the British cabinet, in agitating a civil war with the North Americans, hath greatly contributed to restore and augment their naval power.

265. Of all the kingdoms of Europe, Great Britain, for a long time, enjoyed the greatest degree of prosperity and glory. She ought, therefore, to have been the more attentive to preserve so brilliant an existence. A great empire cannot be continued in a happy situation, but by wisdom and moderation.

266. The unhappy contest of Great Britain with the American colonies, through the folly, arrogance, or arbitrary designs of her then ministers of state, has plunged her into the greatest difficulties ; her national debt has been augmented to a prodigious height ; her taxes greatly increased, and her trade diminished.

CONSTITUTION OF VERMONT,

ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION, HOLDEN AT WINDSOR,
JULY FOURTH, ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND
NINETY-THREE. [July 4, 1793.]

CHAPTER FIRST. [I.]

*A declaration of the rights of the inhabitants of the state of
Vermont.*

ARTICLE FIRST. [I.]

1. THAT all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent, and unalienable rights, amongst which are the enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and pursuing, and obtaining happiness and safety :

2. Therefore, no male person born in this country, or brought from over sea, ought to be holden by law, to serve any person as a servant, slave or apprentice, after he arrives to the age of twenty-one years, nor female in like manner, after she arrives to the age of eighteen years, unless they are bound by their own consent, after they arrive to such age, or bound by law for the payment of debts, damages, fines, costs, or the like.

ARTICLE SECOND. [II.]

3. That private property ought to be subservient to public uses when necessity requires it, nevertheless, whenever any person's property is taken for the use of the public, the owner ought to receive an equivalent in money.

ARTICLE THIRD. [III.]

4. That all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God, according to the dictates of their own consciences and understandings, as in their opinion shall be regulated by the word of God : and that no man ought to, or of right can be compelled to attend any religious worship, or erect or support any place of worship, or maintain any minister contrary to the dictates of his conscience.

5. Nor can any man be justly deprived or abridged of any civil rights as a citizen, on account of his religious sentiments, or peculiar mode of religious worship ; and that no authority can, or ought to be vested in, or assumed by,

any power whatever, that shall in any case interfere with, or in any manner control the rights of conscience, in the free exercise of religious worship.

6. Nevertheless, every sect or denomination of christians ought to observe the sabbath or Lord's day, and keep up some sort of religious worship, which to them shall seem most agreeable to the revealed will of God.

ARTICLE FOURTH. [IV.]

7. Every person within this state ought to find a certain remedy, by having recourse to the laws, for all injuries or wrongs which he may receive in his person, property or character : he ought to obtain right and justice freely, and without being obliged to purchase it ; completely and without any denial ; promptly and without delay ; conformably to the laws.

ARTICLE FIFTH. [V.]

8. That the people of this state by their legal representatives, have the sole, inherent, and exclusive right of governing and regulating the internal police of the same.

ARTICLE SIXTH. [VI.]

9. That all power being originally inherent in and consequently derived from the people, therefore all officers of government, whether legislative or executive, are their trustees and servants, and at all times in a legal way, accountable to them.

ARTICLE SEVENTH. [VII.]

10. That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people, nation, or community, and not for the particular emolument or advantage of any single man, family, or set of men, who are a part only of that community ; and that the community hath an indubitable, unalienable, and indefeasible right to reform or alter government, in such manner as shall be, by that community, judged most conducive to the public weal.

ARTICLE EIGHTH. [VIII.]

11. That all elections ought to be free and without corruption, and that all freemen, having a sufficient, evident, common interest with, and attachment to, the community, have a right to elect officers, and to be elected into office, agreeably to the regulations made in this constitution.

ARTICLE NINTH. [IX.]

12. That every member of society hath a right to be protected in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property, and therefore is bound to contribute his proportion towards the expence of that protection, and yield his personal service, when necessary, or an equivalent thereto, but no part of any person's property can be justly taken from him, or applied to public uses, without his own consent, or that of the representative body of the freemen ;

13. Nor can any man who is conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms, be justly compelled thereto, if he will pay such equivalent ; nor are the people bound by any law but such as they have in like manner assented to, for the common good ; and previous to any law being made to raise a tax, the purpose for which it is to be raised ought to appear evident to the legislature, to be of more service to the community than the money would be if not collected.

ARTICLE TENTH. [X.]

14. That in all prosecutions for criminal offences, a person hath a right to be heard by himself and his counsel ; to demand the cause and nature of his accusation ; to be confronted with the witnesses ; to call for evidence in his favor, and a speedy public trial by an impartial jury of the country ; without the unanimous consent of which jury, he cannot be found guilty ; nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself ; nor can any person be justly deprived of his liberty except by the laws of the land, or the judgment of his peers.

ARTICLE ELEVENTH. [XI.]

15. That the people have a right to hold themselves, their houses, papers, and possessions, free from search or seizure ; and therefore warrants, without oath or affirmation first made, affording sufficient foundation for them, and whereby any officer or messenger may be commanded or required to search suspected places, or to seize any person or persons, his, her or their property, not particularly described, are contrary to that right, and ought not to be granted.

ARTICLE TWELFTH. [XII.]

16. That when any issue in fact, proper for the cognizance of a jury is joined in a court of law, the parties have a right of trial by jury, which ought to be held sacred.

ARTICLE THIRTEENTH. [XIII.]

17. That the people have a right to freedom of speech, and of writing and publishing their sentiments, concerning the transactions of government, and therefore the freedom of the press ought not to be restrained.

ARTICLE FOURTEENTH. [XIV.]

18. The freedom of deliberation, speech, and debate, in the legislature, is so essential to the rights of the people, that it cannot be the foundation of any accusation or prosecution, action or complaint, in any other court or place whatever.

ARTICLE FIFTEENTH. [XV.]

19. The power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws, ought never to be exercised but by the legislature, or by authority derived from it, to be exercised in such particular cases, as this constitution, or the legislature shall provide for.

ARTICLE SIXTEENTH. [XVI.]

20. That the people have a right to bear arms for the defence of themselves and the state—and as standing armies in time of peace are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be kept up ; and that the military should be kept under strict subordination to, and governed by the civil power.

ARTICLE SEVENTEENTH. [XVII.]

21. That no person in this state, can in any case be subjected to law martial, or to any penalties or pains by virtue of that law, except those employed in the army, and the militia in actual service.

ARTICLE EIGHTEENTH. [XVIII.]

22. That frequent recurrence to fundamental principles, and firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, industry, and frugality, are absolutely necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty, and keep government free ; the people ought therefore, to pay particular attention to these points, in the choice of officers and representatives, and have a right in a legal way, to exact a due and constant regard to them, from their legislators and magistrates, in making and executing such laws as are necessary for the good government of the state.

ARTICLE NINETEENTH. [XIX.]

23. That all people have a natural and inherent right to emigrate from one state to another that will receive them.

ARTICLE TWENTIETH. [XX.]

That the people have a right to assemble together to consult for their common good—to instruct their representatives—and apply to the legislature for redress of grievances, by address, petition, or remonstrance.

ARTICLE TWENTY-FIRST. [XXI.]

That no person shall be liable to be transported out of this state for trial for any offence committed within the same.

CHAPTER SECOND. [II.]

PLAN OR FRAME OF GOVERNMENT.

1. The commonwealth, or state of Vermont, shall be governed hereafter, by a governor, (or lieutenant-governor) council, and an assembly of the representatives of the freemen of the same, in manner and form following :

2. The supreme legislative power shall be vested in a house of representatives of the freemen of the commonwealth, or state of Vermont. The supreme executive power shall be vested in a governor, or, in his absence, a lieutenant governor, and council.

3. Courts of justice shall be maintained in every county in this state, and also in new counties, when formed ; which courts shall be open for the trial of all causes proper for their cognizance ; and justice shall be therein impartially administered, without corruption, or unnecessary delay.

4. The judges of the supreme court shall be justices of the peace throughout the state ; and the several judges of the county courts, in their respective counties, by virtue of their office, except in the trial of such causes as may be appealed to the county court.

5. A future legislature may, when they shall conceive the same to be expedient and necessary, erect a court of chancery, with such powers as are usually exercised by that court, or as shall appear for the interest of the commonwealth—Provided, they do not constitute themselves the judges of the said court.

6. The legislative, executive, and judiciary departments, shall be separate and distinct, so that neither exercise the powers properly belonging to the other.

7. In order that the freemen of this state might enjoy the benefit of election, as equally as may be, each town within this state, that consists, or may consist of eighty taxable inhabitants, within one septenary or seven years next after the establishing this constitution, may hold elections therein, and choose each two representatives ;

8. And each other inhabited town in this state, may, in like manner, choose each one representative, to represent them in general assembly, during the said septenary, or seven years ; and after that, each inhabited town may, in like manner, hold such election, and choose each one representative forever thereafter.

9. The house of representatives of the freemen of this state, shall consist of persons most noted for wisdom and virtue, to be chosen by ballot, by the freemen of every town in this state, respectively, on the first Tuesday in September annually, forever.

10. The representatives so chosen (a majority of whom shall constitute a quorum for transacting any other business than raising a state tax, for which two thirds of the members elected shall be present) shall meet on the second Thursday of the succeeding October, and shall be styled *The general assembly of the state of Vermont* ;

11. They shall have power to choose their speaker, secretary of state, their clerk and other necessary officers of the house—sit on their own adjournments—prepare bills, and enact them into laws—judge of the elections and qualifications of their own members : they may expel members, but not for causes known to their constituents antecedent to their election :

12. They may administer oaths and affirmations in matters depending before them—redress grievances—impeach state criminals—grant charters of incorporation—constitute towns, boroughs, cities, and counties ; they may annually, on their first session after their election, in conjunction with the council, (or oftener if need be) elect judges of the supreme and several county and probate courts, sheriffs and justices of the peace ;

13. And also with the council may elect major-generals, and brigadier-generals, from time to time, as often as there shall be occasion : and they shall have all other pow-

ers necessary for the legislature of a free and sovereign state: but they shall have no power to add to, alter, abolish, or infringe any part of this constitution.

14. The supreme executive council of this state, shall consist of a governor, lieutenant-governor, and twelve persons, chosen in the following manner. The freemen of each town shall, on the day of the election for choosing representatives to attend the general assembly, bring in their votes for governor, with his name fairly written, to the constable, who shall seal them, and write on them, *Votes for the governor*, and deliver them to the representatives chosen to attend the general assembly;

15. And at the opening of the general assembly, there shall be a committee appointed out of the council and assembly, who, after being duly sworn to the faithful discharge of their trust, shall proceed to receive, sort, and count the votes for the governor, and declare the person who has the major part of the votes, to be governor for the year ensuing.

16. And if there be no choice made, then the council and general assembly, by their joint ballot, shall make choice of a governor. The lieutenant-governor and treasurer shall be chosen in the manner above directed. And each freeman shall give in twelve votes for twelve councillors, in the same manner, and the twelve highest in nomination shall serve for the ensuing year as councillors.

17. The governor, and in his absence, the lieutenant governor, with the council, (a major part of whom, including the governor, or lieutenant-governor, shall be a quorum to transact business) shall have power to commission all officers—

18. And also to appoint officers, except where provision is, or shall be otherwise made by law, or this frame of government—and shall supply every vacancy in any office, occasioned by death or otherwise, till the office can be filled in the manner directed by law or this constitution.

19. They are to correspond with other states—transact business with officers of government, civil and military—and to prepare such business as may appear to them necessary to lay before the general assembly. They shall sit as judges to hear and determine on impeachments, taking to

their assistance, for advice only, the judges of the supreme court.

20. And shall have power to grant pardons and remit fines, in all cases whatever, except in treason and murder ; in which they shall have power to grant reprieves, but not to pardon, till after the end of the next session of assembly ; and except in cases of impeachment, in which there shall be no remission or mitigation of punishment, but by act of legislation.

21. They are also to take care that the laws be faithfully executed. They are to expedite the execution of such measures as may be resolved on by the general assembly. And they may draw on the treasury for such sums as may be appropriated by the house of representatives. They may also lay embargoes, or prohibit the exportation of any commodity, for any time not exceeding thirty days, in the recesses of the house only.

22. They may grant such licences as shall be directed by law ; and shall have power to call together the general assembly, when necessary, before the day to which they shall stand adjourned. The governor shall be captain general and commander in chief of the forces of the state, but shall not command in person, except advised thereto by the council, and then only so long as they shall approve thereof.

23. And the lieutenant-governor shall, by virtue of his office, be lieutenant-general of all the forces of the state. The governor, or lieutenant-governor, and the council, shall meet at the time and place with the general assembly : the lieutenant-governor shall, during the presence of the commander in chief, vote and act as one of the council ; and the governor, and in his absence the lieutenant-governor, shall, by virtue of their offices, preside in council, and have a casting but no other vote.

24. Every member of the council shall be a justice of the peace for the whole state, by virtue of his office. The governor and council shall have a secretary, and keep fair books of their proceedings, wherein any councillor may enter his dissent, with his reasons to support it ; and the governor may appoint a secretary for himself and his council.

25. The representatives having met, and chosen their speaker and clerk, shall each of them, before they proceed

to business, take and subscribe, as well the oath or affirmation of allegiance herein after directed, (except where they shall produce certificates of their having heretofore taken and subscribed the same) as the following oath or affirmation.

26. You do solemnly swear (or affirm) that as a member of this assembly, you will not propose, or assent to any bill, vote, or resolution, which shall appear to you injurious to the people, nor do or consent to any act or thing whatever, that shall have a tendency to lessen or abridge their rights and privileges, as declared by the constitution of this state; but will, in all things, conduct yourself as a faithful, honest representative, and guardian of the people, according to the best of your judgment and abilities, (in case of an oath) so help you God. (And in case of an affirmation) under the pains and penalties of perjury.

27. The doors of the house in which the general assembly of this commonwealth shall sit, shall be open for the admission of all persons, who behave decently, except only when the welfare of the state may require them to be shut.

28. The votes and proceedings of the general assembly shall be printed (when one third of the members think it necessary) as soon as convenient after the end of each session, with the yeas and nays on any question, when required by any member (except where the votes shall be taken by ballot) in which case every member shall have a right to insert the reasons of his vote on the minutes.

29. The style of the laws of this state in future to be passed, shall be, *It is hereby enacted by the general assembly of the state of Vermont.*

30. To the end that laws, before they are enacted, may be more maturely considered, and the inconvenience of hasty determinations as much as possible prevented, all bills which originate in the assembly, shall be laid before the governor and council for their revision and concurrence, or proposals of amendment; who shall return the same to the assembly, with their proposals of amendment, if any, in writing;

31. And if the same are not agreed to by the assembly, it shall be in the power of the governor and council to suspend the passing of such bills till the next session of the le-

gislature. Provided, that if the governor and council shall neglect or refuse to return any such bill to the assembly, with written proposals of amendment, within five days or before the rising of the legislature, the same shall become a law.

32. No money shall be drawn out of the treasury, unless first appropriated by act of legislation. No person shall be elected a representative, unless he has resided two years in this state ; the last of which shall be in the town for which he is elected.

33. No member of the council, or house of representatives, shall, directly or indirectly, receive any fee or reward, to bring forward or advocate any bill, petition, or other business, to be transacted in the legislature ; or advocate any cause, as counsel in either house of legislation, except when employed in behalf of the state. No person ought, in any case, or in any time, to be declared guilty of treason or felony, by the legislature.

34. Every man of the full age of twenty-one years, having resided in this state for the space of one whole year next before the election of representatives, and is of a quiet and peaceable behavior, and will take the following oath or affirmation, shall be entitled to all the privileges of a freeman of this state.

35. You solemnly swear (or affirm) that whenever you give your vote or suffrage, touching any matter that concerns the state of Vermont, you will do it so as in your conscience you shall judge will most conduce to the best good of the same, as established by the constitution, without fear or favor of any man.

36. The inhabitants of this state shall be trained and armed for its defence, under such regulations, restrictions, and exceptions, as congress, agreeably to the constitution of the United States, and the legislature of this state shall direct. The several companies of militia shall, as often as vacancies happen, elect their captain and other officers, and the captains and subalterns shall nominate and recommend the field officers of their respective regiments, who shall appoint their staff officers.

37. All commissions shall be in the name of the freemen of the state of Vermont, sealed with the state seal, signed by the governor, and in his absence the lieutenant-governor, and

attested by the secretary ; which seal shall be kept by the governor.

38. Every officer of state, whether judicial or executive, shall be liable to be impeached by the general assembly, either when in office, or after his resignation or removal for mal-administration. All impeachments shall be before the governor, or lieutenant-governor, and council, who shall hear and determine the same, and may award costs ; and no trial or impeachment shall be a bar to a prosecution at law.

39. As every freeman, to preserve his independence (if without a sufficient estate) ought to have some profession, calling, trade or farm, whereby he may honestly subsist, there can be no necessity for, nor use in, establishing offices of profit, the usual effects of which are dependance and servility, unbecoming freemen in the possessors or expectants, and faction, contention and discord among the people.

40. But if any man is called into public service to the prejudice of his private affairs, he has a right to a reasonable compensation ; and whenever an office through increase of fees or otherwise, becomes so profitable as to occasion many to apply for it, the profits ought to be lessened by the legislature.

41. And if any officer shall wittingly and wilfully, take greater fees than the law allows him, it shall ever after disqualify him from holding any office in this state, till he shall be restored by act of legislation.

42. No person in this state shall be capable of holding or exercising more than one of the following offices at the same time, governor, lieutenant-governor, judge of the supreme court, treasurer of the state, member of the council, member of the general assembly, surveyor-general, or sheriff.

43. Nor shall any person, holding any office of profit or trust under the authority of congress, be eligible to any appointment in the legislature, or of holding any executive or judiciary office under this state.

44. The treasurer of the state shall, before the governor and council, give sufficient security to the secretary of the state, in behalf of the general assembly ; and each sheriff, before the first judge of the county court, to the treasurer of their respective counties, previous to their respectively entering on the execution of their offices, in such manner, and in such sums as shall be directed by the legislature.

45. The treasurer's accounts shall be annually audited, and a fair statement thereof laid before the general assembly, at their session in October.

46. Every officer, whether judicial, executive, or military, in authority under this state, before he enters on the execution of his office, shall take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation of allegiance to this state (unless he shall produce evidence that he has before taken the same) and also the following oath or affirmation of office, except military officers, and such as shall be exempted by the legislature.

The oath or affirmation of allegiance.

47. You do solemnly swear (or affirm) that you will be true and faithful to the state of Vermont, and that you will not, directly or indirectly, do any act or thing injurious to the constitution or government thereof, as established by convention. (If an oath) so help you God. (If an affirmation) under the pains and penalties of perjury.

The oath or affirmation of office.

48. You do solemnly swear (or affirm) that you will faithfully execute the office of _____ for the _____ of _____; and will therein do equal right and justice to all men, to the best of your judgment and abilities, according to law. (If an oath) so help you God. (If an affirmation) under the pains and penalties of perjury.

49. No person shall be eligible to the office of governor or lieutenant governor, till he shall have resided in this state four years next preceding the day of his election.

50. Trials of issue, proper for the cognizance of a jury, in the supreme and county courts, shall be by jury except where parties otherwise agree; and great care ought to be taken to prevent corruption or partiality in the choice and return, or appointment of jurors.

51. All prosecutions shall commence, *By the authority of the state of Vermont*—all indictments shall conclude with these words, *against the peace and dignity of the state.* And all fines shall be proportioned to the offences.

52. The person of a debtor, where there is not strong presumption of fraud, shall not be continued in prison after delivering and signing over, *bona fide*, all his estate, real and personal, in possession, reversion or remainder, for the use of his creditors, in such manner as shall be hereafter regulated by law.

53. And all prisoners, unless in execution, or committed for capital offences, when the proof is evident, or presumption great, shall be bailable by sufficient sureties ; nor shall excessive bail be exacted for bailable offences.

54. All elections, whether by the people or the legislature, shall be free and voluntary : and any elector, who shall receive any gift or reward for his vote, in meat, drink, monies, or otherwise, shall forfeit his right to elect at that time, and suffer such other penalty as the law shall direct ;

55. And any person who shall directly, or indirectly, give, promise or bestow, any such rewards to be elected, shall thereby be rendered incapable to serve for the ensuing year, and be subject to such further punishment as a future legislature shall direct.

56. All deeds and conveyances of land shall be recorded in the town clerk's office, in their respective towns ; and for want thereof, in the county clerk's office of the same county. The legislature shall regulate entails in such manner as to prevent perpetuities.

57. To deter more effectually from the commission of crimes, by continued visible punishments of long duration, and to make sanguinary punishments less necessary, means ought to be provided for punishing by hard labor, those who shall be convicted of crimes not capital, whereby the criminal shall be employed for the benefit of the public, or for the reparation of injuries done to private persons : and all persons at proper times ought to be permitted to see them at their labor.

58. The estates of such persons as may destroy their own lives, shall not, for the offence, be forfeited, but descend or ascend in the same manner, as if such persons had died in a natural way. Nor shall any article, which shall accidentally occasion the death of any person, be henceforth deemed a deodand, or in any wise forfeited on account of such misfortune.

59. Every person, of good character, who comes to settle in this state, having first taken an oath or affirmation of allegiance to the same, may purchase, or by other just means acquire, hold, and transfer land, or other real estate ;

60. And after one year's residence, shall be deemed a

free denizon thereof, and entitled to all rights of a natural born subject of this state, except that he shall not be capable of being elected governor, lieutenant governor, treasurer, councillor, or representative in assembly, till after two years residence.

61. The inhabitants of this state shall have liberty in seasonable times, to hunt and fowl on the lands they hold, and on other lands not enclosed ; and in like manner to fish in all boatable and other waters (not private property) under proper regulations, to be hereafter made and provided by the general assembly.

62. Laws for the encouragement of virtue and prevention of vice and immorality, ought to be constantly kept in force, and duly executed : and a competent number of schools ought to be maintained in each town, for the convenient instruction of youth : and one or more grammar schools be incorporated and properly supported in each county in this state.

63. And all religious societies or bodies of men, that may be hereafter united or incorporated for the advancement of religion and learning, or for other pious and charitable purposes, shall be encouraged and protected in the enjoyment of the privileges, immunities, and estates, which they in justice ought to enjoy, under such regulations as the general assembly of this state shall direct.

64. The declaration of the political rights and privileges of the inhabitants of this state is hereby declared to be a part of the constitution of this commonwealth ; and ought not to be violated, on any pretence whatever.

65. In order that the freedom of this commonwealth may be preserved inviolate forever, there shall be chosen, by ballot, by the freemen of this state, on the last Wednesday in March in every seven years thereafter, thirteen persons, who shall be chosen in the same manner the council is chosen, except they shall not be out of the council or general assembly, to be called the council of censors ;

66. Who shall meet together on the first Wednesday in June next ensuing their election, the majority of whom shall be a quorum in every case, except as to calling a convention, in which two thirds of the whole number elected shall agree : and whose duty it shall be to inquire, whether the

constitution has been preserved inviolate in every part, during the last septenary, (including the year of their service) :

67. And whether the legislative and executive branches of government have performed their duty, as guardians of the people, or assume to themselves, or exercised, other or greater powers than they are entitled to by the constitution.

68. They are also to inquire, whether the public taxes have been justly laid and collected in all parts of this commonwealth—in what manner the public monies have been disposed of—and whether the laws have been duly executed.

69. For these purposes they shall have power to send for persons, papers, and records—they shall have authority to pass public censures, to order impeachments, and to recommend to the legislature the repealing such laws as shall appear to them to have been passed contrary to the principles of the constitution :

70. These powers they shall continue to have for and during the space of one year from the day of their election, and no longer. The said council of censors shall also have power to call a convention, to meet within two years after their sitting, if there appears to them an absolute necessity of amending any article of this constitution, which may be defective—explaining such as may be thought not clearly expressed—and of adding such as are necessary for the preservation of the rights and happiness of the people ;

71. But the articles to be amended, and the amendments proposed, and such articles as are proposed to be added or abolished, shall be promulgated at least six months before the day appointed for the election of such convention, for the previous consideration of the people, that they may have an opportunity of instructing their delegates on the subject.

By order of convention, July 9th, 1793.

THOMAS CHITTENDEN, president.

Attest, LEWIS R. MORRIS, secretary.

AN ABRIDGED VIEW OF THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF VERMONT.

1. THE large and valuable tract of country, which is now known by the name of Vermont, being situated between the New-England provinces, New-York and Canada, was not settled in an early period with the rest. In the year one thousand six hundred and fifteen, [1615] the Dutch advanced as far as Albany and built a fort. In one thousand six hundred and forty, [1640] the French began a settlement at Montreal. In one thousand six hundred and seventy, [1670] the English settled Deerfield.

2. In the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-four, [1724] the first settlement was made in Vermont. The government of Massachusetts then built fort Dummer. On the other side of the state, the French in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-one, [1731] built a fort at Crown Point, and made a settlement. Being thus situated, it became the source of controversy between nations, on account of territory, and between provinces, on account of divisional lines. In one thousand seven hundred and forty, [1740] the line was settled between Massachusetts and New-Hampshire.

3. In one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, [1749] Benning Wentworth, governor of New-Hampshire, granted a township of land six miles square, situated twenty miles east of Hudson river and six miles north of Massachusetts line, and in allusion to his own name called it Bennington. In one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, [1754] war commenced, between the English and the French, and in one thousand seven hundred and sixty, [1760] Montreal surrendered to the English, which established peace in this quarter.

4. By reason of this war, the soldiers and others obtained a knowledge of the country, which invited not only settlers, but a multitude of speculators. The governor of New-Hampshire ordered, that three lines of townships should be surveyed, on both sides of Connecticut river. Within less than three years, from one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, [1761] there was granted by New-Hampshire, one hundred and thirty-eight [138] townships.

5. Their jurisdiction ran to a grant of New-York, made September third, one thousand six hundred and ninety-six, [Sept. 3, 1696,] to Godfrey Dudlius, twenty miles wide on the east side of Hudson river. Among other speculators, governor Wentworth accumulated a large fortune, from fees and donations ; besides five hundred acres, which he reserved to himself in each township.*

6. The government of New-York, intending to speculate on the lands, took umbrage at New-Hampshire, and first, in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-four, [1664] and, again, in one thousand six hundred and seventy-four, [1674] solicited and obtained a grant of land to the Duke of York, from the western bank of Connecticut river to Delaware bay, which interfered, not only, with the New-Hampshire claims, but, with the charters of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

7. The governor of New-Hampshire issued a proclamation, making null and void the claim of New-York ; on which New-York applied to the crown, and on July twentieth, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four, [July 20, 1764] had their title confirmed. They then made the grant of New-Hampshire null and void ; and being more avaricious than New-Hampshire, they raised the fees, and re-chartered these towns, whenever any applied.

8. New-Hampshire estimated the fees for granting a township, at one hundred dollars ; but New-York set the fees at two thousand, and sometimes two thousand six hundred dollars. [2,600]. The towns generally refused, and some of them never did take a charter from New-York. The government of New-York called out the militia, to take possession by force, but they did not feel the justice of the cause, and the sheriff could not bring them to an engagement. There were, however, many abused, and some wounded.

9. In these difficulties, ETHAN ALLEN appeared very active, and put himself at the head of the opposition. His writings, though indited without much order or elegance, were adapted to the feelings of the people, and had a very

* Governor Wentworth's fees, in less than three years, amounted to 13,800 dollars, besides reserved lands, donations, &c.

great effect on their minds. By this we may learn, how forcible are right words.

10. Though earnestly engaged in the contest, he shewed the honor and generosity of the hero, in avoiding bloodshed, and in sparing the lives of those he had taken. Next to him, is classed SETH WARNER, possessing the same spirit, though less fiery, and was equally determined, he would show bravery, when contending with the enemy, but, lenity to the captive ; by which, he would be understood, that he took up arms not for revenge, but for defence.

11. In the midst of these troubles, the settlers sent three men to England for redress ; Mr. Samuel Robinson, Mr. James Brackenbridge, and Mr. Hawley, who so far accomplished their wishes, that the king, in one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, [1767] put a stop to the proceedings of the governor of New-York.

12. Governor Tryon, on the ninth of May, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-two, [May 9, 1772] wrote a letter to Rev. Mr. Dewey and others in Bennington, that, if they would send any persons to them, except Mr. Allen and Warner and the others, it was probable it might be settled ; they sent Capt. Stephen and Mr. Jonas Fay ; but, it proved ineffectual.

13. In the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, March the ninth, [March 9, 1774] the government of New-York passed an act, declaring all guilty of felony, and should suffer death, who did not surrender themselves within seventy days after their act was published, and offered fifty pounds a head for apprehending Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, and six others.

14. This served only to unite the people, and they made a public declaration, that " We will kill and destroy any person or persons whomsoever, that shall presume to be accessory, aiding or assisting in taking any of us." When measures were thus desperate, *Phillip Skene*, who was a colonel in a British regiment, went to England, to have the disputed territory erected into a new province, and himself the governor ; this would probably have taken place, had not the revolutionary dispute prevented.

15. In consequence of the proceedings of the British court, the American colonies met in congress, September

the fifth, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, [Sept. 5, 1774] and advised the people to maintain their liberties, in such ways as should be found necessary. The first object was, to stop the courts of justice under the royal authority.

16. Moved by this, a party collected at Westminster, on the thirteenth of March, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, [March 13, 1775] and would not suffer the judges to enter the court. At eleven of the clock that night, the sheriff with other officers went with a party to force an entrance, but being opposed, they fired into the house and killed one man, and wounded others. This served to exasperate the people.

17. The next day, a large body assembled from all quarters ; a coroner and jury of inquest was soon prepared and brought in a verdict, that the man was murdered by the court party. Some of the officers were taken prisoners and carried to the gaol in Northampton, in Massachusetts, but was afterwards released on application of New-York.

18. This led the settlers to choose a committee to direct their measures ; they met at Westminster, on the eleventh of April, and formed some spirited resolves towards New-York. Their attention, however, was soon directed to a subject of more general importance, occasioned by the memorable battle at Lexington, on the nineteenth of April.

19. Allen, under the direction of Arnold, raised men and attacked the British forts on Lake Champlain, and on the tenth of May, took Tyconderoga and Crown Point, but, afterwards being venturesome, he was taken prisoner at Montreal, and suffered much in his imprisonment. Warner had the command of a regiment of settlers and proved an excellent officer.

20. Being without any form of government, and feeling the nature, and foreseeing the importance of being united ; they found it necessary, that something should be done ; at length, they applied to the congress for advice, expressing at the same time their readiness to assist in the wars, according to their ability, but congress did nothing of importance as a body, individuals advised to be governed by a convention.

21. This convention met at Dorset, January sixteenth,

one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, [Jan. 16, 1776] and dated their petition to congress the seventeenth. On the fourth of July, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, [July 4, 1776] congress made the declaration of independence, by which the settlers considered all claims founded on charters, or British authority, as done away.

22. The people found difficulties arising from every quarter, which had different effects on their minds ; some were for uniting with New-York, some with New-Hampshire, and some for being independent. New-Hampshire, on the second day of August, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, [Aug. 2, 1776] voted unanimously that the quitrents which were due to Great Britain should be paid to their convention, which in this state of confusion had been neglected.

23. The quitrents reserved for the crown, were in New-Hampshire sixteen cents and two thirds for every hundred acres, (16 2-3 cts.) and in New-York, they were fifty-five cents and five ninths for every hundred acres ; (55 5-9 cts.) this, for twelve years or more, made some difference to the settlers, and still more so, if they became independent.

24. A convention met at Dorset, July twenty-fourth, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, (July 24, 1776) consisting of fifty-five members from thirty-five towns. They agreed to enter into an association for the defence of their common liberties, and declaring all enemies, who adhered to the New-York claims. September twenty-fifth, they met again, and declared themselves *a free and separate district*.

25. In January after, the convention met at Westminster, and on the sixteenth, made a declaration, " that the district or territory, known by the name of the New-Hampshire grants, shall hereafter be considered, as free and independent, by the name of *Vermont*, and a bill of rights and form of government be established next session.

26. They presented a petition to congress, stating their declaration of independence, and wishing them to acknowledge the same,—admit them to an equal rank with the rest of the states—and allow them a representation in congress. This convention was signed by Jonas Fay, Thomas Chittenden, Heman Allen, and Reuben Jones. This was

warmly opposed by New-York in several remonstrances, and congress dismissed the petition of Vermont.

27. This served to unite them the stronger, as they had several in congress in their favor, and the labors of Thomas Young were of great service to them. On the sixth day of July, the American troops were obliged to abandon Tyconderoga to general Burgoyne, which led the convention of Vermont to send to New-Hampshire for assistance.

28. They sent general STARK with a body of men, and with him a letter superscribed to Ira Allen, secretary of the state of Vermont, in which they addressed them, as a free and new state. But, difficulties arose from another quarter, the adjoining towns on the east side of Connecticut river, wished to join with the new state, and sixteen towns petitioned the state of Vermont to be received.

29. After much altercation and intrigue, they were admitted, and an invitation to other towns to join them. New-Hampshire remonstrated at this, and shewed that they had been considered as with them, and had acted as such. On this, they sent colonel Ethan Allen to congress to find how it appeared to them, whether they would approve of their doings, but found it otherwise.

30. The next year, they met at Windsor, October tenth, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, (Oct. 10, 1778) ten of the sixteen towns sent a representative, but finding the assembly of Vermont was not in favor of receiving them, they with some others withdrew.

31. They then called a convention to meet in Cornish and consult on the subject of the limits of the new state, which met on the ninth of December, but eight towns on the west side attended, and these generally refused to do any thing. It was now evident, that their whole aim had been to form a government, the centre and seat of which should be on Connecticut river.

32. This was not agreeable to the general voice of Vermont, they accordingly voted, on the twelfth of February, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, (Feb. 12, 1779) to dissolve the union, which had subsisted between them and the towns in New-Hampshire; and communicated it to that government June twenty-fourth.

33. This led the government of New-Hampshire to

claim the whole tract of Vermont, that belonged to them before the royal termination, in one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four, (1764) and they petitioned to congress for the same ; New-York then took the same step to obtain it.

34. Massachusetts, seeing the conduct of New-Hampshire and New-York, followed their example, and threw in a claim to congress for a part of Vermont ; between these three claims to the country, and the inhabitants resolved to yield to neither, it became very troublesome to congress.

35. At the same time, governor Clinton, of New-York, wrote to his friend in Vermont, to be firm and prudent in opposing the government of Vermont ; his letter was dated July seventh, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight. (July 7, 1778.) In one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, (1779) governor Clinton gave commissions to some of his friends in the south east part of Vermont, called by that state Cumberland county. Colonel Patterson raised a regiment of about five hundred men. (500).

36. On the other hand, colonel Ethan Allen was directed to raise a part of the militia to oppose him. Alarmed at this, governor Clinton wrote to the president of congress, May eighteenth, for their immediate interposition. This, with several other papers, was laid before congress, May twenty-ninth. (May 29).

37. On the first of June, congress resolved, " that a committee be appointed to repair to the inhabitants of a certain district, known by the name of the New-Hampshire grants, and inquire into the reasons why they refused to continue citizens of the respective states, which heretofore exercised jurisdiction over the said district. And, that they take every prudent measure to promote an amicable settlement of all differences, and prevent divisions and animosities, so prejudicial to the United States."

38. Colonel Allen with his armed force took colonel Patterson, and the chief of his officers, prisoners. This became a subject of complaint to the governor of New-York and of the governor to congress. On the sixteenth of June, congress resolved, that the prisoners ought to be liberated. Five commissioners were appointed to repair to Vermont ; of these, two only attended, doctor Witherpoon and Mr. Atle.

39. After making due inquiry, they made report, on the thirteenth of July, that they had done nothing to any purpose. On the twenty-fourth of September, congress passed an order of notice to the states, who claimed the land of Vermont, and likewise to the inhabitants of the land, to meet on the first of February next before them, and they would hear and determine on the same.

40. New-Hampshire and New-York approved of this order, but Massachusetts and Vermont would not acquiesce, and especially the latter ; who, in a public appeal, called in question the authority of congress over them, as they were not represented in that body. On the first of February, the subject was not called up. On the twenty-first of March, it was postponed. On the ninth of June, it was deferred till the second Tuesday of September.

41. Governor Chittenden, in a letter to congress, dated July twenty-fifth, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, (July 25, 1780) reminds congress, that they were not included in the thirteen states—that they were free and independent—that they had a right to make a treaty of peace with Great Britain by themselves, if they should see fit—and, that now they were induced, for the last time, to offer union with the United States, of which congress was the legal representative body.

42. On the nineteenth of September, congress notified Ira Allen and Stephen R. Bradley, the agents for Vermont, to attend and hear the trial, but congress not acknowledging them in their public character, they remonstrated against their proceedings ; and at the same time let them know, that they were willing to bear their proportion of the burden of the war, if they would acknowledge them as a state in the union.

43. Congress foreseeing the evils, which would arise in coming to a result on the subject, queried their power to create a new state, and waved it for the present. The advocates for New-Hampshire claims called a convention by letters, to sit in Charlestown, in hopes to bring them over to New-Hampshire.

44. The convention was holden January sixteenth, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, (Jan. 16, 1781) forty-three towns were represented ; but, to their disappoint-

ment, a large majority was in favor of joining with Vermont. They appointed a committee, who on the tenth of February presented their request to the assembly sitting at Windsor.

45. On the fourteenth of February, the assembly accepted the request, and the New-Hampshire convention sitting then in Cornish, on the other side of the river, on the twenty-second, entered into a union with Vermont, to be sacredly observed. Petitions were presented by the adjacent inhabitants of New-York to join with Vermont.

46. On the fourteenth of February, they extended their jurisdiction to Hudson river. In April, thirty-five towns east of Connecticut river joined Vermont. On the fifteenth of May, twelve districts from New-York joined. This union established the people and led the assembly to disregard congress or any other opposer : they proceeded to regrant those lands that were granted by New-York.

47. Another circumstance drew in a number, who were unfriendly to the revolution : many entertained an idea, that Vermont would become a British province ; even the British generals and ministers conceived great expectations of accomplishing this. Colonel Robinson in the British service wrote a letter to colonel Ethan Allen on the subject, dated New-York, March thirtieth, one thousand seven hundred and eighty. (March 30, 1780).

48. This was delivered to colonel Allen, by a British foldier in the habit of an American farmer. The colonel shewed it to the governor and to a certain number of gentlemen, and agreed not to answer the letter. On February second the next year, Robinson wrote to Allen again, with the former letter enclosed. This was not answered.

49. On the ninth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, (March 9, 1781) colonel Allen enclosed these letters, and sent them to congress, informing them of all the circumstances which had attended the business. This was accompanied with a firm declaration to maintain their independence as a state.

50. In the spring of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty, (1780) a party made a descent on Royalton, and made some prisoners. The governor sent a flag to treat with them. They wrote to Ethan Allen, now a brig-

adier general, for a cessation of hostilities for the time of treaty, which was agreed to. Colonel Ira Allen and major Joseph Fay were commissioned for this purpose.

51. The British agents then proposed to them to become a province. By various arts, they feasted their expectation, but waved the subject for the present. This evasive act was practised through the war, to the unspeakable benefit of the people of Vermont ; for the British liberated their prisoners and made no descent on their frontiers.

52. During this time, a number of settlers passed and repassed, filled with visionary schemes and proposals. The last letter that was written by the British agents, was dated March twenty-fifth, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three. (March 25, 1783). There were but eight persons in Vermont concerned in this secret correspondence.

53. So odious were the British proceedings and government, that it was with difficulty that the people in Vermont could be kept quiet under this correspondence, though they knew it was for their protection. Nothing but their confidence in these eight gentlemen restrained them from open violence.

54. An intercepted letter, written at Whitehall, in England, to Sir Henry Clinton, dated February seventh, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, (Feb. 7, 1781) was carried into Philadelphia ; which spake with confidence, that the people of Vermont would return to their allegiance. This was published on the fourth of August.

55. This excited congress to use means to prevent it. On the twentieth of August, congress voted to receive Vermont into the union, if they would make Connecticut river their eastern boundary, and twenty miles east of Hudson river, and lake Champlain their western boundary. In October, the assembly of Vermont met at Charlestown, and on the nineteenth voted not to accept of the resolution of congress.

56. New-York boldly protested against the proceedings of congress, and raised a body of troops and marched them over on the east side of Hudson river, to bring the inhabitants to subjection. New-Hampshire at the same time sent a collector to levy an assessment on the towns east of Connecticut river, with power to use force.

57. This animated the settlers in Vermont with increased zeal to defend themselves ; they wrote to the president of New-Hampshire, that if they used force, they should meet him with force, and raised a detachment under colonel Walbridge, who marched to meet the troops from New-York, with full determination to defend those under their protection.

58. Happy for the country, they all had more wisdom and possessed more moderation, than to proceed to hostilities. This, however, led general Washington to write to governor Chittenden, urging a compliance with the resolves of congress on the twentieth of August, with which the general assembly complied, on the twenty-second of February, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two. (Feb. 22, 1782).

59. The assembly chose four agents to conduct the business of admitting them into the federal union, but congress then evaded the subject. The next October, they chose agents to complete this object. In the mean time, the governor of New-York, by his influence, engaged a number in the southerly part of the state to attempt to enforce the laws of New-York.

60. This made it necessary for Vermont to call out the militia to defend the courts of justice in the county of Windham. They banished some, and fined others. This led the governor of New-York to apply again to congress. After much difficulty, congress passed a vote of severity against Vermont—commanding them to restore those banished, and make good all damage.

61. This produced a spirited reply from Vermont, that their proceedings tended to make the liberty and natural rights of mankind a mere bubble—that it was of no importance to America to pull down arbitrary power in one form, that they might establish it in another. And besides, they had proceeded to hear and decide on the subject by hearing evidence on one side only, contrary to all laws or customs.

62. By this time, Vermont had lost their faith in the virtue of congress, and on the settlement of peace with Great Britain, felt no inclination to be admitted into the federal union. Thus, Vermont remained by herself till after the new federal constitution was established. Then New-York,

desirous to hold the feat of federal government, felt the importance of laying aside the old controversy with Vermont, and receive that state into the union.

63. Accordingly New-York, on the fifteenth of July, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, (July 15, 1789) chose commissioners to settle the dispute with Vermont. October twenty-third, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, (Oct. 23, 1789) Vermont chose commissioners on their part. October seventh, one thousand seven hundred and ninety, (Oct. 7, 1790) the commissioners made report to the legislature of New-York, and on the twenty-eighth, to that of Vermont, which was mutually accepted.

64. The commissioners reported, that New-York would resign all claims on the state of Vermont, twenty miles east of Hudson's river and east of the deepest channel in lake Champlain, if the legislature of Vermont would declare, on or before the first of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, (Jan. 1. 1792) that on or before the first of June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, (June 1, 1794) they would pay to New-York thirty thousand dollars. (30,000 dols.)

65. The general assembly called a convention to meet at Bennington, on the sixth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, (Jan. 6, 1791) for the purpose of being admitted into the federal union. They adjourned till the tenth, and proceeded with only two dissenting votes. On the eighteenth, made choice of the honorable Nathaniel Chipman and Lewis R. Morris esquires, commissioners to perfect it in congress.

66. And, on February eighteenth, Vermont was admitted into the federal union, by an act of congress, without any debate or dissenting vote. Their representation took their seats in congress, March the fourth, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one. (March 4, 1791). Thus ended twenty-six years controversy with New-York in a participation of an equal share of happiness under the freest and best constitution known in the civilized world.

BIOGRAPHY OF THE FIRST GOVERNOR OF VERMONT.

1. THOMAS CHITTENDEN, first governor of Vermont, was born at East Guilford, Connecticut, in one thousand seven hundred and thirty. (1730.) His mother was sister of the reverend doctor Johnson. He received a common school education, which at that period contributed but little to the improvement of the mind.

2. Agreeable to the custom of New-England, he married early in life, when in his twentieth year, and soon removed to Salisbury, in the county of Litchfield. Here, by a regular advance he passed through the several grades of the militia to the command of a regiment.

3. He many years represented the town, in which he lived, in the general assembly, and thus acquired that knowledge of public business, which afterward rendered him so eminently useful in Vermont. The office of a justice of peace for the county of Litchfield, which he also sustained, made him acquainted with the laws of the state, and the manner of carrying them into effect.

4. Though destitute of learning, his good sense, affability, kindness, and integrity gained him the confidence of his fellow citizens, and the highest honors, which a retired town could bestow, were given him. His attention was principally directed to agriculture, and he labored personally in the field.

5. With a numerous and growing family, a mind formed for adventures, and a firmness, which nothing could subdue, he determined to lay a foundation for the future prosperity of his children by emigrating to the New-Hampshire grants, as Vermont was then called. He, accordingly, in one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, (1774) removed to Williston, on Onion river.

6. An almost trackless wilderness now separated him from his former residence. Here he settled on fine lands, which opened a wide field for industry, and encouraged many new settlers. In the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, (1776) the troubles, occasioned by the war, rendering it necessary for him to remove, he purchased an

estate in Arlington, and continued in that town till one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, (1787) when he returned to Williston.

7. In the controversy with New-York, he was a faithful adviser and a strong supporter of the feeble settlers. During the war of the American revolution, while Warner, Allen, and many others were in the field, he was assiduously engaged in the council at home, where he rendered essential service to his country.

8. He was a member of the convention, which on the sixteenth of January, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven (1777) declared Vermont an independent state, and was appointed one of the committee to communicate to congress the proceedings of the inhabitants, and to solicit for their district, an admission into the union of the American states.

9. When the powers of government were assumed by this state, and a constitution was established in one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, the eyes of the freemen were immediately fixed on Mr. Chittenden as their first magistrate. He was accordingly elected to that arduous and difficult office, and continued in it, one year only excepted, till his death.

10. From the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty (1780) till the conclusion of the war, during which period, in which the situation of Vermont was peculiarly perplexing, he displayed a consummate policy. The state was not acknowledged by the congress, and they were contending on the one hand for independence, and on the other hand they were threatened by the British forces from Canada.

11. A little management was necessary to promote the interests of this district. A correspondence was opened with the enemy, who were flattered for several years with a belief, that the people of Vermont were about to subject themselves to the king of England ; and thus a meditated invasion of the territory was averted, and the prisoners were restored.

12. At the same time, the possibility that Vermont would desert the cause of America, was held up to congress, and by this means probably the settlers were not re-

quired to submit to the claims of New-York. Such was the politic course, which governor Chittenden thought it necessary to pursue.

13. He enjoyed very good health till about a year before his death. In October, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, (1796) he took an affecting leave of his compatriots in the general assembly, imploring the benediction of heaven on them and their constituents. He died, August twenty-fourth, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, (Aug. 24, 1797) aged sixty-seven years.

14. Governor Chittenden, though an illiterate man, possessed great talents. His discernment was keen, and no person knew better how to effect great designs, than himself. Though his open frankness was sometimes abused, yet when secrecy was required in order to accomplish his purposes, no misplaced confidence made them liable to be defeated.

15. His negotiations during the war, were master strokes of policy. He possessed a peculiar talent in reconciling the jarring interests among the people. The important services which he rendered to his country, and especially to Vermont, make his name worthy of honorable remembrance. He lived to see astonishing changes in the district, which was almost a wilderness, when he first removed to it.

16. Instead of his little band of associates, he could enumerate a hundred thousand persons, whose interests were entrusted to his care. He saw them rising superior to oppression, braving the horrors of a foreign war, and finally obtaining a recognition of their independence, and an admission into the United States of America.

17. Governor Chittenden was conspicuous for his private virtues. In times of scarcity and distress, which are not unfrequent in new settlements, he displayed a noble liberality of spirit. His granary was open to all the needy. He was a professor of religion, a worshipper of God, believing in the Son to the glory of the Father. A number of his letters to congress and to general Washington were published.

PRESIDENT ADAMS' INAUGURAL SPEECH.*

1. WHEN it was first perceived in early times, that no middle course for America remained ; between unlimited submission to a foreign legislature, and a total independence of its claims ; men of reflection were less apprehensive of danger, from the formidable power of fleets and armies, they must determine to resist, than from those contests and dissensions, which would certainly arise, concerning the forms of government to be instituted, over the whole and over the parts of this extensive country.

2. Relying however, on the purity of their intentions, the justice of their cause, and the integrity and intelligence of the people under an over-ruling *Providence* which had so signally protected this country from the first. *The representatives of this nation then consisting of little more than half its present numbers, not only broke to pieces the chains which were forging, and the rod of iron that was lifted up, but frankly cut asunder the ties which had bound them, and launched into an ocean of uncertainty.*

3. The zeal and ardor of the people, during the revolutionary war, supplying the place of government, commanded a degree of order, sufficient at least for the temporary preservation of society. The confederation, which was early felt to be necessary, was prepared from the Batavian and Helvetic confederacies, the only examples which remain with any detail and precision, in history, and certainly the only ones, which the people at large, had ever considered.

4. But reflecting on the striking difference, in so many particulars, between this country and those, where a courier may go from the seat of government to the frontier in a single day, it was then certainly foreseen by some who assisted in congress at the formation of it, that it could not be durable.

5. Negligence of its regulations, inattention to its recommendations, if not disobedience to its authority, not only in individuals but in states, soon appeared, with their

* Not obtaining president Adams' speech in season, we were under the necessity of breaking the order proposed, and of inserting it here.

melancholy consequences, universal languor, jealousies and rivalries of states ;

6. Decline of navigation and commerce ; discouragement of necessary manufactures ; universal fall in the value of lands and their produce ; contempt of public and private faith ; loss of consideration and credit with foreign nations ; and at length, in discontents, animosities, combinations, partial conventions, and insurrection, threatening some great national calamity—

7. In this dangerous crisis, the people of America were not abandoned, by their usual good sense, presence of mind, resolution or integrity—measures were pursued to concert a plan to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty. The public disquisitions, discussions and deliberations, issued in the present happy constitution of government.

8. Employed in the service of my country abroad, during the whole course of these transactions, I first saw the constitution of the United States in a foreign country.

9. Irritated by no literary altercation, animated by no public debate, heated by no party animosity, I read it with great satisfaction, as a result of good heads, prompted by good hearts ; as an experiment, better adapted to the genius, character, situation and relations of this nation and country, than any which had ever been proposed or suggested.

10. In its general principles and great outlines, it was conformable to such a system of government, as I had ever most esteemed, and in some states, my own native state in particular, had contributed to establish.

11. Claiming a right of suffrage, in common with my fellow citizens, in the adoption or rejection of a constitution which was to rule me and my posterity, as well as them and theirs, I did not hesitate to express my approbation of it, on all occasions, in public and in private.

12. It was not then, nor has been since, any objection to it, in my mind, that the executive and senate were not more permanent. Nor had I ever entertained a thought of promoting any alteration in it, but such as the people themselves, in the course of their experience should see and feel

to be necessary or expedient, and by their representatives in congress and the state legislatures, according to the constitution itself, adopt and ordain.

13. Returning to the bosom of my country, after a painful separation from it, for ten years, I had the honor to be elected to a station under the new order of things, and I have repeatedly laid myself under the most serious obligations to support the constitution.

14. The operation of it has equalled the most sanguine expectations of its friends : and from an habitual attention to it, satisfaction in its administration and delight in its effects, on the peace, order, prosperity and happiness of the nation, I have acquired an habitual attachment to it, and veneration for it.

15. What other form of government indeed can so well deserve our esteem and love ? There may be little solidity in an ancient idea, that congregations of men into citizens and nations, are the most pleasing objects in the sight of superior intelligencies :

16. But this is very certain, that to a benevolent human mind, there can be no spectacle presented by any nation, more pleasing, more noble, majestic or august, than an assembly, like that which has so often been seen in this and the other chamber of congress, of a government, in which the executive authority, as well as that of all the branches of the legislature, are exercised by citizens selected, at regular periods, by their neighbors, to make and execute laws for the general good.

17. Can any thing essential, any thing more than mere ornament and decoration be added to this by robes or diamonds ? Can authority be more amiable or respectable, when it descends from accidents, or institutions established in remote antiquity, than when it springs fresh from the hearts and judgments of an honest and enlightened people.

18. For it is the people only that are represented : it is their power, and majesty, that is reflected and only for their good, in every legitimate government, under whatever form it may appear. The existence of such a government as ours, for any length of time, is a full proof of a general dissemination of knowledge and virtue throughout the whole body of the people.

19. And what object or consideration more pleasing than this can be presented to the human mind ? If national pride is ever justifiable or excusable, it is when it springs, not from power or riches, grandeur or glory, but from conviction of national innocence, information and benevolence.

20. In the midst of these pleasing ideas, we should be unfaithful to ourselves, if we should ever lose sight of the danger to our liberties, if any thing partial or extraneous should infect the purity of our free, fair, virtuous and independent elections. If an election is to be determined by a majority of a single vote, and that can be procured by a party through artifice or corruption, the government may be the choice of a party, for its own ends, not of the nation, for the national good.

21. If that solitary suffrage can be obtained by foreign nations by flattery or menaces, fraud or violence, by terror, intrigue or venality, the government may not be the choice of the American people, but of foreign nations. It may be foreign nations who govern us, and not we the people, who govern ourselves. And candid men will acknowledge, that in such cases, choice would have little advantage to boast of, over lot or chance.

22. Such is the amiable and interesting system of government (and such are some of the abuses to which it may be exposed) which the people of America have exhibited to the admiration and anxiety of the wise and virtuous of all nations, for eight years, under the administration of a citizen, who, by a long course of great actions, regulated by prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude ;

23. Conducting a people, inspired with the same virtues, and animated with the same ardent patriotism and love of liberty, to independence and peace, to increase wealth and unexampled prosperity ; has merited the gratitude of his fellow citizens, commanded the highest praises of foreign nations, and secured immortal glory with posterity.

24. In that retirement which is his voluntary choice, may he long live to enjoy the delicious recollection of his services, the gratitude of mankind ; the happy fruits of them to himself and the world, which are daily increasing, and that splendid prospect of the future fortunes of his country, which is opening from year to year. His name may

be still a rampart, and the knowledge that he lives a bulwark against all open or secret enemies of his country's peace.

25. This example has been recommended to the imitation of his successors, by both houses of congress, and by the voice of the legislatures and the people, throughout the nation. On this subject it might become me better to be silent, or to speak with diffidence : but as something may be expected, the occasion, I hope, will be admitted as an apology, if I venture to say, that

26. If, a preference, on principle, of a free republican government, formed on long and serious reflection, after a diligent and impartial inquiry after truth ; if, an attachment to the constitution of the United States, and a conscientious determination to support it, till it shall be altered by the judgments and wishes of the people, expressed in the mode prescribed in it ;

27. If, a respectful attention to the constitutions of the individual states, and a constant caution and delicacy towards the state governments ; if, an equal and impartial regard to the rights, interests, honor and happiness of all the states in the union, without preference or regard to a northern or southern, an eastern or western position, their various political opinions on unessential points, or their personal attachments ;

28. If a love of virtuous men of all parties and denominations ; if a love of science and letters, and a wish to patronize every rational effort to encourage schools, colleges, universities, academies, and every institution for propagating knowledge, virtue and religion among all classes of the people :

29. Not only for their benign influence on the happiness of life, in all its stages and classes, and of society in all its forms ; but as the only means of preserving our constitution from its natural enemies, the spirit of sophistry, the spirit of party, the spirit of intrigue, the profligacy of corruption, and the pestilence of foreign influence, which is the angel of destruction to elective governments ;

30. If a love of equal laws, of justice and humanity, in the interior administration ; if an inclination to improve agriculture, commerce and manufactures for necessity, con-

venience and defence ; if a spirit of equity and humanity towards the aboriginal nations of America, and a disposition to meliorate their condition, by inclining them to be more friendly to us, and our citizens to be more friendly to them ;

31. If an inflexible determination to maintain peace and inviolable faith, with all nations, and that system of neutrality and impartiality, among the belligerent powers of Europe, which has been adopted by this government, and so solemnly sanctioned by both houses of congress, and applauded by the legislatures of the states, and the public opinion, till it shall be otherwise ordained by congress ;

32. If a personal esteem for the French nation, formed in a residence of seven years, chiefly among them, and a sincere desire to preserve the friendship which has been so much for the honor and interest of both nations ; if, while the conscious honor and integrity of the people of America, and the internal sentiment of their own power and energies must be preserved, an earnest endeavor to investigate every just cause and remove every colorable pretence of complaint ;

33. If an intention to pursue, by amicable negociation, a reparation for the injuries that have been committed on the commerce of our fellow citizens by whatever nation ; and if success cannot be obtained, to lay the facts before the legislature, that they may consider, what further measures the honor and interest of the government and its constituents demand ;

34. If a resolution to do justice, as far as may depend on me, at all times and to all nations, and maintain peace, friendship and benevolence with all the world ; if an unshaken confidence in the honor, spirit, and resources of the American people, on which I have so often hazarded my all, and never been deceived ;

35. If, elevated ideas of the high destinies of this country, and of my own duties towards it, founded on a knowledge of the moral principles and intellectual improvements of the people, deeply engraven on my mind in early life, and not obscured but exalted by experience and age ;

36. And, with humble reverence I feel it to be my duty to add, if, a veneration for the religion of a people, who profess and call themselves christians, and a fixed resolution

to confider a decent refpect for christianity, among the belt recommendations for the public fervice ; can enable me, in any degree to comply with your wifhes, it fhall be my ftrenuous endeavor that this fagacious injunction of the two houfes fhall not be without effect.

37. With this great example before me ; with the fenfe and fpirit, the faith and honor, the duty and intereft of the fame American people, pledged to fupport the conftitution of the United States, I entertain no doubt of its continuance in all its energy, and my mind is prepared, without hesitation, to lay myfelf under the moft folemn obligations to fupport it, to the utmoft of my power.

38. And may that Being, who is fupreme over all, the patron of order, the fountain of juftice, and the protector, in all ages of the world, of virtuous liberty, continue his bleffing on this nation and its government, and give it all poffible fuccefs and duration, confiftent with the ends of his providence.

JOHN ADAMS.

United States, March 4, 1797.

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